Regaining Dr Herman Haeberlin

Early Anthropology and Museology in Puget Sound, 1916-17

Dr Jay Miller

4 CULTURE
KING COUNTY LODGING TAX

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Acknowledgments

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Preface

Jay Miller, PhD

Herman Karl Haeberlin's name appears as the first author of The Indians of Puget Sound (1930). The second is Erna Gunther, who inherited his fieldnotes and translated this work from German. They were born sixteen years apart. Both were students of Franz Boas at Columbia University in New York. They may have met because she entered Barnard about the time he was finishing his graduate degree, which was based on library research. But actual fieldwork with living people was a must for any serious career, and it was such research among Salish natives around Seattle that brought their efforts together, even after Herman (HKH) had died.

Thus, Haeberlin came to coastal Washington in 1916 to establish his reputation as a consummate anthropologist. Driven to add to scholarship, his health failed and diabetes killed him.[1] He intended to cap his training and experience as an anthropologist by fieldwork among the Snohomish, Snoqualmi, and members of other tribes settled on the Tulalip Reservation near Marysville, learning from native speakers of what was then called Puget Salish and is now known as Lushootseed (from its own native name).[2] He had already done international-scale scholarly research in German and US museums and as an archaeologist in Puerto Rico, as well as comparative work about interrelations among the Salishan language family.

Decades before there had been fierce competition for artifacts from the Northwest Coast to fill world-class museums (Cole 1985, Jonaitis 1988). Most of these objects came from the Pacific's Far North, but Haeberlin was to fill out the Coast Salish collection at the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) in New York City. This collecting helped pay for his research project. Further, these artifacts provided important and very tangible evidence of how natives used "what nature provided" at a time when machines, metal, and soon plastic were beginning to alienate all people from their local environments.

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[1] His death is particularly ironic because of the high incidences of diabetes among modern Lushootsed elders, who undergo dialysis weekly. Appendix H on insulin and the bizarre quirks of medical discovery is intended for them.

[2] The native language of Puget Sound has northern and southern dialect chains, called dəxʷləšutsid and xʷəlšutsid. In the north were Skagit (including the Sauk-Suiattle), Swinomish, and the Snohomish (including the Skykomish); while, south of Whidbey Island, dialects were Snoqualmi, Duwamish (including Muckleshoot), Puyallup, Nisqually, and Sahewamish, together with Suquamish on the west shore.

Important dialect distinctions are separate names for salmon species, respective accents on the first or second vowel of the basic root of a word, and the use of 4 as the pattern number (done four times) in the north and of 5 (five times) in the south (matching tribes along the Columbia River into the Plateau).

Over a century ago, Lushootseed and nearby languages (Twana, Chimakum, and southern Nootkans (Makah and Ditidat, called Nitinat in English)) shifted away from nasal sounds so that M became B (m > b) and former N became D (n > d). Thus, any snowcapped mountain is now called taqʷoba, though settlers heard it as takoma (Tacoma) and used it for Mt. Rainier and a nearby city.

Indeed, this was not an easy time for Germans in the US, since these nations were on the brink of World War I. Fluently bilingual, Herman was an American by birth (though later scholars did not know this). His mother's German family had settled in Akron, Ohio, and worked as roofers. His father was a German engineer who came there to work. The Haeberlin family soon returned to Germany for the education of their son and daughter in the rigors of science and music.

In college, young Herman became attracted to anthropology and pursued this interest in German classrooms and museums. He did well, and made the acquaintance of the leading anthropologist of that day, Franz Boas (Pierpont 4004), a naturalized German who had a special affinity for the Pacific Northwest. Papa Franz, as he was affectionately known, was spearheading the premier (and for a time only) department of Anthropology at Columbia University in New York City. Barnard, where Erna Gunther was an undergraduate, was its sister institution for women. For his PhD, Herman became a Boas student, and quickly acquired the mantle of an heir. After a variety of training experiences (explained in his biography below), he was sent to undertake the decisive test of fieldwork with wise native elders. He was to concentrate on defining the distinctive features of the native cultures of Puget Sound.

Everything that is presently known about Herman and his Puget research is presented within this booklet. It was occasioned by a recent discovery that finally fills out his consummate research. Though he died of diabetes on return from his second field season, his notebooks have remained a goldmine of information. But one number (13) was always missing. Only 41 of the 42 notebooks, in Washington, DC, since 1936, have been known and used. I recently identified the missing #13 in New York City, and it provides the core of this publication. Combined together with notebook 32, this booklet is intended to be a self-contained source for the artifacts he collected. While the notes are vital to understanding native Puget Sound, basic background has also been provided as a context for these notebooks. Where necessary, brief comments by Miller are inserted within the flow of the text, but these are set off by square brackets []. Uncertain words are marked by double question marks [??]. Footnotes update spellings and clarify meanings, with marking HKH's own insertions. Appendices provide thumbnail sketches of persons and contexts, and footnotes amplify the text.

England and Germany, given their intertwined royal houses, have been major forces in American History. Germans, however, have taken the secondary role as settlers and shopkeepers rather than as pioneers. In the two decades before and after 1900, Germans were well placed in the US. During World War I, famous German-Americans took leading roles, such as John (Blackjack) Pershing (born Pfoerschein) and the Ace Eddy Rickenbacker. Both Boas and Haeberlin worked during trying times when Germany had imperial ambitions that they did not share. Boas was a pacifist, but many of his students enlisted in the war, to his ire. Many had ancestry in Germany, such as Alfred Kroeber, Esther Schriff, and Robert Lowie.

In Washington State, Germans were long stalwart citizens. They played leading roles in all of the key regional industries and institutions. Principally, these were John Jacob Astor in the fur trade, Henry Villard (Heinrich Hilgard) in the railroads, Frederick Weyerhaeuser in lumber, Gustave (Gustavus) Sohon and Lt Augustus Valentine Kautz in the US Army, Carl A Sander in ranching, Schwabacher brothers in Seattle merchandizing, and a host of brewers.[3] Some of these men made their own contributions to native research. Sohon left a series of fine portraits and

[3] Dale R Wirsing, Builders, Brewers, and Burghers, Germans of Washington State, 1977.

treaty scenes, Villard provided funds to Boas for fieldwork by students, and Kautz's Nisqually children became tribal leaders.

In south Puget Sound, prosperous Germans included Willibald Alphonse Kunigk, Tacoma waterworks engineer, Arthur Jacob Weisbach, Tacoma mayor during the 1885 anti-Chinese riots, Gustave Rosenthal, Olympia oyster developer, William Bremer, who sold land to the Navy for a shipyard in 1891, and Louis Gonter, a hop king of Pierce County. Fertile Eastern Washington wheatlands were resettled by Volga Deutsch. These were Geman farmers, often pacifists such as Mennonites, who had relocated to Russia. They came to the Northwest fleeing Russian Army conscription despite an official exemption granted when they were invited to farm along the Volga River by Czarina Catherine the Great, herself a German.

Above all, Germany prided itself on scientific rigor, which was instilled in HKH and reinforced under Boas. Haeberlin had already earned his PhD based on library research about the Puebloan Southwest. As fulfillment, HKH undertook to confirm his professional reputation by fieldwork with the native Lushootseeds of the Sound, during a proverbial "calm before the gathering storm".

The world has changed since the death of HKH. In his trilogy of novels set just after World War I, John Dos Passos (1930, 246, 248 in 1919) summarized its aftereffects as "War brought the eight hour day, women's votes, prohibition, compulsory arbitration, high wages, high rates of interest, cost plus contracts and the luxury of being a Gold Star Mother. If you objected to making the world safe for cost plus democracy you went to jail with [Eugene] Debs." [Above all,] "oil was trump".

Grasping for oil reserves continues today, having dominated world conditions for over a century. Among modern Lushootseeds, this same modern world intrudes into their own traditions, estranging some people from their deeply rooted past. Haeberlin and his legacy helps all of us to recall and reaffirm the richness of these cultures in considerable detail.

As tribute to his work, this booklet is arranged into four sections. The first tells the life and work of HKH. The second presents both his notebooks (#13, #32) documenting his entire artifact collection, through gift and purchase, from locals. The third presents his letters, sometimes with responses, in English. Many were translated from the original German by Ulrich Frische, MD, a native speaker and medical doctor. Since German has both technical and folk names for the same disease, he has critical insight necessary for such translations. To amplify information beyond that in brief footnotes, as well as to present relevant extracts contained in the other 42 notebooks, appendices have been provided at the end of each section. The fourth section, bringing together an overview of Lushoosteed research, lists Lushootseed researchers, begins to locate their papers, and ends with background references and bibliography.

Analysis, either academic or otherwise, will have to come later, building upon this straight-forward compendium of materials about HKH and his collection of artifacts. Many details remain vague, and other comparative data have not been assembled, but the outlines and gaps for them are provided herein.

Dr Herman Karl Haeberlin
(11 September 1890 - 12 February 1918)

American born but German educated, Herman Karl Haeberlin (HKH) was once the hope of US Anthropology. His tragic death robbed the Northwest of a bright beginning and contributed to difficulties that still plague regional research. His Puget Sound fieldwork was to be the confirmation and consummation of his career. He intended it to bring together all of his prior efforts in museums, archaeology, and comparative linguistics. After arriving in the 1916 summer at Tulalip, however, increasing illness resulted in a diagnosis of diabetes in Seattle (see Letters). Various strict remedies were tried, and he improved. Able to continue fieldwork in 1917, he died shortly after returning East.

HKH was born, started school, and is buried in Akron (Ohio), where his namesake father, an engineer, worked. By the time he entered university, however, his family had returned to Germany. He began his college studies in Leipsig and then Berlin. His father explained family background to Boas, in a letter of 2 November 1919, while he was trying to reenter the US to mourn his son.

> In the spring of 1883, I emigrated to the United States, after finishing an academic - technical education. I received my US citizenship in 1888. My papers were issued February 6, 1888 by probate Judge CR Grant, Akron, Ohio. I married my wife, born Alma Fedderson, in 1885. My two children, Elsa and Herman, were born 1886 and 1890 in Akron. In December of 1906, I left Akron for Duesseldorf, where I entered into the service of a large machine producing factory. My return to Germany was mainly guided by my desire to give my children a superb scientific education. My daughter studied music. You know about my son.

Boas met Herman in 1913 in Berlin, where his fellow students included a Pole, a Russian, and other Germans. Karl Lamprecht and Wilhelm Wundt were their teachers, inspired by the work of Adolf Bastian and the Ethnological Museum. HKH transferred to Columbia University in New York to work with Boas in 1914, completing his PhD with a study, based on published sources, of what would today be call “gender symbolism” on a cosmic scale (Father Sky, Mother Earth) among the Pueblos of the Southwest.

At that time, Boas’s premier student, Alfred Louis Kroeber (1915, 283-288) published his “18 professions”. These axioms addressed what he regarded as the irreconcilable differences between the two branches of research which were both important to anthropology. One was biological and psychological, and the other was social and historical. To bridge this chasm, he instead looked to a third branch that was uniquely anthropological. This was the no-man’s-land between the two which he said was capriciously used as a “picnic ground by whosoever prefers pleasure excursions to the work of cultivating a patch of understanding”. It attracted those without rigor, and this could not go on.

Kroeber’s basic aim was to delimit the scope of history from that of science. In this regard, he said, the aim of history is to know the relations of social facts to the whole of civilization, not its varied impulses. It is the entire work of humans, rather than “man as individual”, except as someone serves as a specific illustration. The organic whole is greater than its parts. Humans have species characteristics. True instincts and heredity lie at the bottom

of social phenomena, but they cannot be considered by history because it is only concerned with the particular. Biology is not destiny. Environment is subject to civilization, not its shaper. All human cultures are absolutely equal (by the doctrine of cultural relativity). "All men are totally civilized," the savage does not exist.

All of this was before genes, DNA, and genomes took center place. All social types, stages, and pseudo-species were "arbitrarily selected facts". Cultures react by sequence among themselves, not according to universal laws nor causes. Science does not exist for history, and each field should follow its own proper complementary methods.

It is significant for his growing place in anthropology, that, later in the same volume, HKH (1915, 756-759) responded with "Anti-Professions". That he could do so in print, albeit with a certain puppy-dog naïveté, indicates his standing in the profession. He was probably encouraged by Boas to react to his most illustrious protégé. HKH correctly calls this Kroeberian enterprise dogmatic, particularly his lumping of psychology with biology within science. HKH countered that, neither a picnic ground nor a no-man's-land, science is open minded.

All humans are inherently part of their works, they can not be arbitrarily separated off from the culture-whole. While there may not be laws like those of science, parts of anthropology, such as linguistics, discovers regular correspondences that are very similar to these laws. Similarly, sequence is itself a kind of causality, rather than its antithesis. Once set in motion, outcomes become limited by statistical possibilities. "Dr Kroeber's psychological bugaboo is a gnome of subjective making ... All scientific work … is only specialization," within the totality.

The exchange solved nothing, but it did call attention to Herman and added to the stature of Kroeber. As the letters reveal, Kroeber was impressed enough to offer Haeberlin a job at Berkeley, but he turned it down in favor of returning to the East.

Increasingly, HKH's own interests became "manifestations of the aesthetic life," beginning with Pueblo art in published illustrations and held in Berlin collections. He next turned to Northwest Coast art, James Teit's data on Salishan basketry, and pottery from Culhuacan near Mexico City. He also developed an interest in Nahuatl, the spoken language of the Aztecs.

> "The character of his work was determined by a keen psychological interest founded on a broad philosophical and historical training. He was never a mere collector of facts, but the material of anthropology served him to understand the relations between the individual and society. Anthropological observations were interesting to him because they throw light upon the relations between individual thought, feeling, and action and social environment. In this sense he was interested in the application of the results of anthropological study to the social problems of our day, because the attainment of true freedom of thought and action presupposes a clear understanding of the social determination of our own activities" (Boas 1919, 72).[4]

Like others of his time, HKH deduced that culture was all-embracing, a mental outlook that served to filter and organize everything. As such, he joined with Boas in opposing the enthusiasm for diffusion and transcultural borrowing then in vogue in anthropology.

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[4] This official obituary by heavy-hearted Boas (1919) has HKH's birth date off by a year in 1891. Both his father and the tombstone have 1890.

Finally, having built upon the work of others, Herman was ready to undertake his own research. He first went to Puerto Rico, where he excavated two sites. But this did not provide the acid test of actual fieldwork with living peoples. For that milestone, he was sent to Puget Sound. Boas had already provided the background for understanding the region, and he had become keenly interested in the Salishan languages because they provided a discrete grouping that occurred in both the Coast and the Plateau culture areas. Other language stocks, such as Algic, were too far-flung and complex for such analysis.

Based at the Tulalip Reservation, he began his studies of Puget Salish (now called Lushootseed) in 1916. From these notes, he was able to publish an article on the major ritual of the region (formerly known as the Spirit Canoe but better titled Shamanic Odyssey, Miller 1988a, 1999a). He also produced bulky comparative studies of features of Salishan linguistics. Only his work on reduplication (doubling up of syllables to shift meanings) appeared quickly.

In his letters, HKH seems determined to stay on the East Coast, near the intellectual centers of the US and Europe. I feel certain, however, that Boas wanted to place HKH at the University of Washington (UW) to pursue local fieldwork and look for interested natives and students to take up such research, as he did elsewhere with key native scribes such as George Hunt, William Beynon, and Ella Deloria. The death of HKH was a serious setback for all Americanists, and especially to the Seattle region.

At HKH's death, Boas had something to do with the funeral arrangements and became literary executor. He gave all 41 notebooks -- except # 13 which he kept -- to Erna Gunther. She brought them to Seattle when Leslie Spier (her husband via a legal contract not a marriage license) took a job at the University of Washington in 1920. Later, he moved on to the University of Oklahoma, and was rehired by UW in 1929. Leslie went off to the Pacific for fieldwork and Erna filled in as his substitute and stayed on. Herself Alsatian, from families fluent in both French and German because of the political shifts in this mining region, Erna published an ethnographic summary of these materials in German in 1924, at the same time as she published HKH's collection of native stories in English. In 1930, after her own fieldwork in the Sound and her divorce from Spier, Erna published an English version of the ethnography, which remains in print. The oldest people who had worked with HKH a decade before were dead, so she worked with their children and grandchildren. As Erna once explained, HKH's original overview summary was in English, which she translated into German for the 1924 edition. When she got ready to publish it in English in 1930, however, she could not find the original and so had to back translate from the German.[5]

For unknown reasons, in 1936, though the 41 notebooks had been in Erna's keeping for almost two decades, Leslie sent them to the Bureau of American Ethnology in DC. Presumably he knew that Puget Salish materials from TT Waterman were already there. HKH's song materials went to Helen Roberts, who published them in 1918. Some remaining pages may be in her collection at Yale University.

Many of the "good ole boys" at local historical societies, especially in Tacoma, were deeply suspicious of Spier and Gunther, viewing them as Eastern academics invading their turf. Yet the couple got on well with several self-trained researchers who grew up among local natives. Among these so-called "sentinels" were Nels Bruseth of Darrington, and, especially, Arthur Ballard of Auburn.

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[5] Wayne Suttles identified one paragraph and a diagram on the trawl net (šabəd) that did not get translated back into the 1930 English edition.

Boas was not one to let research materials languish. He gave Herman's material to people who could use it, often without any explanation. The massive compendium on Salishan lexical suffixes is now in the papers of Gladys Reichard at Indiana University. Long on the faculty at Barnard, Reichard received it from Boas because of her work with Coeur d'Alene, an Interior Salish language of Idaho. A dividend of her work there was the college degree earned by Lawrence Nicodemus, a native speaker who continued analysis of his language for decades. In a real sense, Reichard took the place of HKH as the Boas heir.

Stanley Newman, long at the University of New Mexico, received a copy of Thompson (Nlaka'pamux) suffixes when he began work on Nuxalk, the northernmost Salishan language famous for its many vowel-less words. "Boas sent me the ms. In the early 30's (when I started working on Bella Coola) [now Nuxalk] with no explanation or comment – he wasn't a man to waste words" (Newman in Thompson 1974, 220). Other materials are scattered throughout the collections of Erna Gunther and Melville Jacobs at UW Special Collections (until 2004 UW-MSCUA, Appendix A), usually identifiable by the handwriting, topic, or subject rather than any attached HKH name.

His grave is with the Feddersens [headstones are written as ending in both -sEn and -sOn], Section G, Plot 63, in Glendale Cemetery, 150 Glendale Avenue, in the old and Germanic section of Akron, Ohio. The slanted grey granite stone reads

H.K. HAEBERLIN
SEPT. 11, 1890
FEB. 12, 1918

The records from this plot tell of both longevity and sadness. His grandmother Anna died in 1925 at age 92 of senility, his uncle Kuno Feddersen died at 85 in 1952 of pneumonia, as did two others buried in the 1960s. His youngest uncle died at age 76 of infected gangrene, and his grandfather John/Jonathan died at 60 of poison.

Census records indicate that in 1880 the Feddersen males were roofers. They emigrated from Prussia. Their oldest child, daughter Alma who became mother of HKH, was a milliner. Elsa was a female name continued in each generation, as with HKH's own sister. Herman (Sr) and Alma married in Summit, Ohio, on 19 March 1885. His profession is indeed listed as engineer.

There are no obvious indications of religion. St Bernard's Cemetery adjoins Glendale on the southwest, so Catholic can be ruled out, as can Jewish. At this point, non-sectarian or Lutheran remain possibilities. The fellowship set up in his honor was specifically non-denominational. It was supported by the American assets of the Haeberlin father, and was held by ?? Danzel, who went to Hamburg and then Erich Schmidt while he did Arizona archaeology. Other holders are still being sought.

Boas himself was from a liberal Jewish family. His students included Blacks, Jews, women (sometimes both), and others at a time when colleges were a bastion of Anglo males. His supervision of the son of roofers and engineers speaks to the tolerance of both Boas and anthropology from its very academic founding.

Appendix A: Known Writings

List of known publications, recordings, and manuscripts
of Dr Herman Karl Haeberlin

Franz Boas and Herman Haeberlin

1924 Ten Folktales in Modern Nahuatl. Journal of American Folklore 37, 345-370.

1927 Sound Shifts in the Salishan Dialects. International Journal of American Linguistics 4, 117-36.

Haeberlin, Herman K

1916-17 Puget Salish, 41 of 42 Notebooks. DC: National Anthropological Archives. # 2965.

1916-17 Puget Salish, Notebook 13. NY: American Museum of National History, Anthropological Archives.

1918 "SbEtEtda'q, A Shamanic Performance of the Coast Salish." American Anthropologist 20 (3), 249-257.

1918 Principles of Esthetic Form in the Art of the North Pacific Coast: A Preliminary Sketch. American Anthropologist 20 (3), 258-264.

1924 "Mythology of Puget Sound." Prepared by Erna Gunther. Journal of American Folklore 37 (143-144), 371-438.

1974 Distribution of the Salish Substantive (Lexical) Suffixes. Edited by M Terry Thompson. Anthropological Linguistics 16 (6), 219-350.

Haeberlin, Herman, and Erna Gunther

1924 Ethnographische Notizen über de Indianerstämme des Puget-Sundes. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie 56 (1-4), 1-74.

1930 The Indians Of Puget Sound. University of Washington Publications in Anthropology 4 (1), 1-84.

Herman Haeberlin K, James A Teit, and Helen Roberts

1928 Coiled Basketry in British Columbia and Surrounding Region. Bureau of American Ethnology - Annual Report 41, 119-484. For the years 1919-25

Roberts, Helen, and Herman Haeberlin

1918 Songs of the Puget Sound Salish." Journal of American Folklore 31 (122), 496-520.

HKH MSS at American Philosophical Society (Freeman Guide 1966)

450. Franz Boas and HK Haeberlin. Bella Bella suffix list [n.d.]. D. 322L. 5 slips.

Preliminary organization of morphological treatment; heavily exemplified suffix list. On reverse side are ethnological materials: Land of the Dead (the sbetedda's [sic] ceremony and the conception of the Land of the Dead); the ideal of fertilization in the culture of the Pueblo Indians; Hopi Sky-Father and Sky-Mother. In notebooks; notes added after 1925. Some offset printed sheets, pp. 1-171 of Boas (1928a). [30(W1b.4)]

1538. Haeberlin, Herman K. Notes on the composition of the verbal complex in Haida [n.d; 1915?]. D. 17L. A critical reworking of a portion of Swanton (1911a). [30(N1b.3)]

2341. Franz Boas and Herman Haeberlin. Nahuatl texts. [1912-1924]. Typed D. and A.D. 1 notebook. 314L. In Nahuatl with English, Spanish, and German translations.
Texts collected by Boas in 1912 from Milpa Alta natives; verified by Haeberlin. Includes type copy of Simeon (1889): 25-26. [30(U7b.4)]
Printed, Boas and Arreola (1920) and Boas and Haeberlin (1924).

3211. Franz Boas and Herman Haeberlin, and James A Teit. Salishan dialects [1920]. Typed D. 12L.
Data relating to the Salish languages, their distribution, and the distributions of neighboring languages. [30(S.10)]

3212. Haeberlin, Herman K. Correspondence with Franz Boas [1913-1918]. L. 24 items.
Relating to Haeberlin's graduate studies at Columbia, and his field work at Tulalip, Everet[t], and Mayville [Marysville], Washington. [31]

Haeberlin MSS at UW Special Collections
MSCUA until 2004

in Erna Gunther Collection, in English, Box 6-4, in German Box 6-5.

in Melville Jacobs Collection, Box 107-7 top & carbon Peter Sam, kinds of mats, Skookum George, Star Husband, Little Sam

Songs
Six Wax Cylinder, Ten Strips
Archives of Traditional Music, Indiana University

Kookum George, Snoqualmie > Love Song

James Percival, Snohomish > Snohomish Song, Warrior Song, Lummi Warrior, Woman's sqaip, Man's sqaip, Snohomish Love Song, Woman's Love Song, Doctoring Song

Peter Sam, Snohomish > Gambling Song, Echo Song

Summaries of 42 Notebooks*

* The name before the > is the informant, capitalized letters indicate titles of epic or mythic texts, (to, from #__) indicate continuations to or from other notebooks. Though annoying, this jumping between notebooks saved paper and time. Dates are included because HKH so rarely noted them.

1 William Shelton > Snohomish features
2 William Shelton > Deer and Loon, burials, constellations, sweatlodge
3 William Shelton > animal people, Lifting the Sky, Fox and Mink (on to #11, #12)
4 Snoqualmie Jim > genealogy, traps for bear & salmon, Star Husband, Wolf & Bear
    Frank Le Clair > genealogy, baby teeth
    Alphonso Bob, son of George Bob, son of Old Bob > tool diagrams
5 Charlie Jules > women's gambling game, Snohomish villages, remedies, money, clothing
6 Charlie Jules > Lushootseed terms for anatomy, landscape, reduplications
7 Charlie Jules > Odyssey / smetnaq, tools, clothing
8 William Shelton > genealogy
    Snoqualmie Jim > flounder.
    Little Sam > worths (values), pheasant, powers, clams
9 Charlie Jules > immortals
    Little & Annie Sam > 3, 4 Nov 1916, oven, fern root, (forced reply)
10 powers, immortals (to #19, #36)
11 William Shelton > Fox and Mink (from #3)
12 William Shelton > Fox and Mink, Black Bear and Grizzly (to #22)
13 missing ?!?, in NYC [see full text]
14 Josephine LeClair > Grandfather Carrot, 4 Dec 1916
15 Snoqualmie Jim > Star Husbands, Wolf Brothers, Winds, Basket Ogress
16 George Bob > reduplications [9 Oct 1916 decision to write n as d, m as b to end confusion]
    Snoqualmie Jim > terms for anatomy, weather, terrain, housing, animals
17 Josephine LeClair > Wolf, Raven, Skunk, Frog, Leprous Boy (to #14, #36)
18 Josephine LeClair > Leprous Boy with Sores (to #17, #36)
19 William Shelton > terms, baskets, foods, games, spinning, Odyssey 7 Nov 1916 (to #10)
20 Skookum George > Star Husbands, Wolf Brothers, Mink and Frog, mats, shredding bark
21 Skookum George > canoes, games, herbs, birth
22 William Shelton > Black Bear and Grizzly (#12, #36)
    Charlie Jules > housing, tools, time, verbs
    Skookum George > verbs, pronouns
23 Skookum George > songs
24 Skookum George > Star Husbands
    Snoqualmie Jim >
    Little Sam > Wolf
    Peter Sam > war
25 Peter Sam > Rabbit and Deer, mats, canoes, (to #24)
    Snoqualmie Jim > Lion and Rabbit
26 conjugations, tools, paints (to #25)

27 reduplications, Thompson Beaver and Coyote
28 Henry Sicade (Nisqually) > birth, names, potlatch, tamanous + immortals, medicine house (to #30, #36)
29 Henry Sicade > newspaper clippings, wapato, Star Husband, baskets on 21 April 1916
30 Squalli villages, Leschi, traps, kin terms, canoes, teas (from # 28)
31 Joe Swayle > powers, immortals, doctors, baskets
32 Puyallup specimens, shipment tallies [see full text]
33 Henry Martin > First Salmon, Odyssey
Sally Martin Jackson > Sister of Henry, a doctor
Henry Sicade > kin terms
34 Cashmere Sam > trade, clothing, Odyssey, immortals, the dead
35 ghosts, Winds, Skagit Mink and Raven, feather blankets
36 tides, Changer = dukʷibəɬ, Skykomish Mink and Grandmother, burial, souls, summer [from #17, #18, #22, #28]
37 cunning stitaɬ = Fraser River Thompsons, tools, wool dogs, Snoqualmie from Wolf, Snohomish from Tyee [King] Salmon, Skykomish from mountain goat; constellations, immortal doctors
38 Snohomish from blackfish, herbs, Little Sam genealogy, wergild, games
39 Holmes Harbor, games, Skagit chiefs, woodwork, slaves
40 Little Sam? > Grizzly, loon,
Henry Sicade > marmot blanket,
Kate Mount (Nisqually) > kin terms, pregnancy, foods, names
41 Kate Mount (Nisqually) > utensils, mourning, class, rank, acorns, slaves, potlatch
42 Pheasant

Native People in Notebooks 13, 32
Mentioned by Name or Kinship

Old Anne (ts!ait), Muckleshoot reservation

Old Bob

wife of Charlie Boston

wife of Celestine

Edward Percifal

son of Georgie Bob

Henry Martin

Jack Wheeler

Joe Swayle

Mrs Johnson

Mrs Josephine LeClair

mother-in-law of Charlie Jules

Mrs Jules

Morris Lobehan

Pete Kalama

Little Sam & wife Annie Sam

Peter Sam

Sokum George & wife

Snuqualmi Jim

Swinomish woman, brown goat wool blanket

Herman K Haeberlin # 13 1916-82
FROM THE BOAS COLLECTION 43
[Stamped on outside Cover]

Martha Washington
Composition Book
No. 154

Page 1

Specimens marked √ were sent to New York Oct. 27, 1916

Information concerning broughten specimens[6]
50.2/
√ 1- 435 $5.00
basket (spɛtcu')[7] Snohomish make, brought from wife of "old Bob." Grass for white imbrication and sample of stick used for black imbrication[8] added gratis
√ 2 - 436 .30
round greenish stone, found on Camano Island by little grandson of Old Bob.
√ 3 437 spoon of horn $1.00
This spoon was brought from Mrs Jules. She got it from her old mother or some other relative. It was used to eat soup. The whole family would sit around a "Klickitat" basket with soup in it and would dish the soup out with such spoons. Shelton says

6.30 [$ sum]

2

this spoon must be very old. ƛ̓amqɛs = spoon of this type.[9]

√ 4 438 hunter's basket $1.50 made by Mrs Jules.
Shelton says that this is the old time hunter's basket. The twilled work on the bottom

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[6] Each page has many numbers. In the upper right is the number HKH put on the notebook page itself, numbers added within [] correct for the proper sequence, along the right side are the prices he paid in dollars $ and cents .00; along the left side are number from 1 > for each artifact as he collected it, then numbers in the 400s which were tentatively assigned to him from the potential AMNH inventory until a final cataloging provided a fixed number as well as these field-assigned numbers.

[7] In the modern spelling of Lushoosheed, this is spəču? "watertight cedar root basket" in NL, syalt in SL (Bates, Hess, and Hilbert 1994, 160). Along the Skagit River, NL speakers used this word only upstream from Bacon Creek, below there they used yiq̓ʷus (Collins 1974, 68). The dialects of NL and SL differ in accent on the first or second vowel of the basic root of a word, basic terms like salmon and basket names, and a preference for 4 or 5 as the pattern number. Though the dialect names look different (northern NL dxʷləšutsid and southern SL (t)xʷəlšutsid, Whulshootseed), it is a matter of the accent on the schwa.

[8] Dr Brian Compton (BC), 17 December 2003, suggests the grass is *Xerophyllum tenax*, bear grass, and the stick is *Equisetum*, horsetails.

[9] Zeke Zalmai Zahir (ZZ), SL expert, gives spoon as łabqs 'swish + nose, point'.

is also old. When the hunter went out to hunt he would put meat or fish into just such a basket. He would close the top by lacing a tump-line through the loops. The woven band of the tump-line he would put over his forehead and let the basket hang on his back. Such packing baskets were often much larger.

3

√ 5 439 mat of twilled work $1.50
made by Mrs. Jules. It served as "tablecloth." It was laid on the floor with the light-colored side up. Fish or meat would be laid on it, ready to be eaten. The people would sit around the mat and eat directly from the mat. These mats were often much larger than this one.

X 6 - 440 paddle $1.50
This is not a racing paddle.
They have broader blades
For men only. Very old paddle. Brought from Old Bob.

√ 7 - 441 sleeping mat $1.00

4

√ 8 - 442a-b spindle $1.00
brought from Old Bob

√ 9 - 443 needle $ .50
for making mats like No. 7 bought from Old Bob

√ 10 - 444 adze $1.50
This was used for making canoes. The blade used to be of stone. Brought from Old Bob.

√ 11 - 445 points $1.50
of a salmon spear
These two points were put on the two prongs of a spear. The points were originally of stone. Those for sturgeon & seal had a "Widerhaken," those for salmon did not. Brought from Old Bob.

5

√ 12 446 old imbricated basket $8.00
brought from Old Bob's wife

√ 13 447 wicker basket $1.50
brought from Old Bob

√ 14 448 blanket $6.00
(Snohomish work) Made of mountain goat wool. Jules says that the blankets of dog-wool were made just like this one.

√ 15 449 ear-pendant $ .75 See Book 5, p. 27[10]

[10] Book 5, p. 27 x̱ʷtci'łqs this is the shell of a very large clam found in north and traded down to Snohomish from the northern Indians. It was not found in Snohomish country. The Snohomish prized it very highly. Two or four large shells were worth a slave. These shells were also cut up and used as ear ornaments (See No. 15 of this collection). Jules said that a big chief would have to have one [p28] of these on each ear. Sometimes such pieces would also be worn at the end of a necklace.

xᵘtci'łqs.[11] Made of shell which is highly prized by the Snohomish. Three or four whole shells of this kind were worth a slave. It was

6

traded down from the North as these shells were not found in the Snohomish country. Pieces like this specimen were worn as ear-pendants. Sometimes they were also attached to necklaces. Brought from Mrs. Jules.

√ 16 450 clam shell gratis

Shell of which shell money tc!au'wai was made.[12] See Book 5, p. 23[13]

√ 17 451 fern with roots gratis

Indian medical herb. Mixed with cherry bark it was good for colds. Good for stomach and moves bowels. See Book 5, p. 11.[14]

7

√ 18 452 a large basket $5.00

Mrs Celestine showed me a basket with apparently the same design as the one on this basket. She said the pattern represented "boxes".

Used for berry picking. Brought from Mrs Josephine LeClair. It was made by a "grandmother" of Mrs LeClair. This "grandmother" was partly Skagit and partly Snohomish, she was cousin of the grandmother who had the Wolf sla'letut[15] and who told Mrs LeClair the story taken down in Book 17, pp. 13 et seq.[16]

Mrs LeClair says that the name of the design is xatske'los[17] which means "step-wise."

√ 19 - 453 small square basket $2.00

brought from daughter of Mrs LeClair. The design is sL!iłtc[18]

8

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[11] Abalone is xʷčiłqs ZZ, Bates, Hess, and Hilbert 1994, 73.

[12] Any shell is čəwayʔ NL, čuwəyʔ SL, łaʔx̣ is plate, platter ZZ, Bates, Hess, and Hilbert 1994, 69, 141.

[13] Book 5, p. 23 Jules tells me that two kind of shell money was used: tc!auwai and s'o'lax. See Appendix B for full extract. See note 8.

[14] Book 5, p. 11 For Colds Crush the little nodules (look like fish eggs [bacteria]) on the roots of the alder tree. Something* else is mixed with this, but Jules forgot the English name for it. He promised to get some for me. From his descriptions it seems to grow as a parasite [licorice fern] on the maple tree. These two ingredients are mixed with cold water and drunk. It is good for colds, also good for the stomach and moves the bowels.
* See in Coll[ection] No. 17 Root of a fern.
[BC suggests licorice fern, *Polypodium glycyrrhiza*, while the nodules are "formed by filamentous bacteria (Actinomycetes), i.e., *Frankia*, that are symbiotic with" alders, here probably red alders (*Alnus rubra*) and "involved in nitrogen fixation". Cherry is *Prunus emarginata*.]

[15] Immortals are sqəlalitut, from 'dream, vision', Bates, Hess, and Hilbert 1994, 175, 357.

[16] Book 17, pp. 13 et seq [p13-16] true story, retold after false start, See Appendix C.

[17] Unknown term, though ZZ suggests x̣ack=il=us for ? + 'become' + 'face'.

[18] Tattoos is sƛ̓iƛ̓č ZZ.

which means a tattoo-mark. The design is in imitation of the tattoo-designs that the women used to have on their arms.

√ 20 454 fish basket $6.00

Used by fisherman to put their fish in. brought from Mrs LeClair. The design is uyomatc which means "butter-fly wings."[19]

√ 21 455 salmon club $ .25

Such a club was used in fishing to kill salmon by striking them over head. Bought from Snuqualmi Jim.

9

√ 22 456 model $5.00
of racing canoe

brought from son of Georgie Bob

√ 23 457a-k slaha'lb [slahaləb] $5.00

Game with shredded cedar bark used in game. The game consists of 10 discs one of which has no black on the rim at all. Brought from Edward Percifal. Wrapped up in a white bag.

√ 24 458 Instrument $1.00
used in making mats [creaser]

The groove was rubbed over the mat as the needle (No 9) was passed through the mat. This grooved instrument was rubbed over the

10

needle. This gives the mat the longitudinal "ribs."

√ 25 459 spoon $1.50

brought from wife of Charlie Boston

√ 26 460 basket $1.50

brought from wife of Sokum George.[20] Kokum George and his wife are both Snoqualmi. This basket, they assured me, was made by a Snoqualmi. The large designs

thus:  are sxalo'ltc which means "ferns." I could not find out what the one black design near the rim (thus) means.

11 [10 written]

The other designs, namely the vertical lines and the dots scattered here and there, are xai'o'xua[21] = "flies." This information was given by the wife of Kokum George.

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[19] yubəč provides the name for both a butterfly (yuyubəč) and king salmon (in NL, SL is saċəb) which appear at the same time of year, in the Spring (Bates, Hess, and Hilbert 1994, 278).

[20] Sokum, Kokum, Sookum is the word for 'strong' in Chinuk Wawa or Jargon, the regional trade language.

[21] Sword fern is sx̣aẋəlc but HKH wrote sx̣aləlc; Fly is x̣ayuxʷaʔ, ZZ, Bates, Hess, and Hilbert 1994, 313. Gunther (1973, 13) has sx̣aẋlc.

√ 27 461 twined basket $1.50
brought from wife of Celestine. She said that this basket was made by the Skykomish. It is a xɛlai'otsid,[22] not a spɛtcu'. A spɛtcu' is a hard coiled basket. The dark brown cedar bark used for ornamentation on this basket is called ts!ayu. Mrs Celestine said that these twined baskets were not used for berry-picking, but

for storing goods in house.

√ 28	462	basket	$2.50
√ 29	463	spoon	25.
√ 30	464	basket	.50
√ 31	465	red ochre	.25
√ 32	466	wooden spoon ˇgot last!ˇ	.25
√ 33	467	spoon	.25
√ 34	468	spoon	.25
√ 35	469	basket	1.00
√ 36	479	basket	1.00
√ 37	471	basket	1.50
√ 38	472	basket	1.00
√ 38	473	basket	1.00
√ 40	474	basket	3.00
√ 41	475	basket	3.00
√ 42	476	basket	2.00

√ 43	477	basket	1.00
√ 44	478	mat maker [creaser]	.50
√ 45	479	basket	2.50
46	480	basket	7.00
√ 47	481	shell money	.75
X 48	482	paddle (men's)	.50
X 49	483	paddle (men's)	.50
X 50	484	women's paddle	1.00
		brought from Little Sam	
51	485	frame for drying ground hog skins	.50

The skin is that of cau'ɬ = groundhog.[23] Blankets were made of these skins. 20 or 25 skins of cau'ɬ to each blanket. The inside of these skins were cleaned with a rough stone. Name of this trap is Leq!tid.[24]

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[22] Marked rim, mouth is x̣alayucid; while bark is ɬuway; ts!ayu is unknown.

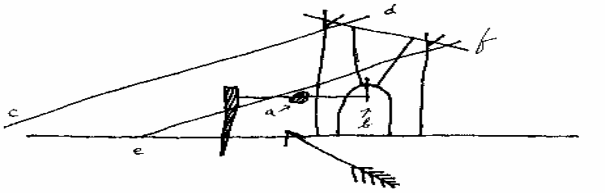
[23] Mountain Beaver [šaẇkʷɬ, šaẇɬ] though it is usually misidentified in publications as hedgehog, beaver, badger, etc. See appendix G on this fascinating species.

14 [13]

52 486 spoon .25
brought from Little Sam
√ 53 487a-e model of hoop for gratis
catching pheasants
for description Book 8 p. 22 et. seq.[25] The real hoop is larger and stronger than this model.

15 [14]

#54 488a-l model of cau'ɬ trap gratis
cau'ɬ is mountain beaver according to Peter Sam. According to another man it is a



groundhog. A cau'ɬ skin is on the drying frame #51.
cau'ɬ comes in from side as shown by arrow. He nibbles at bait "a." See herb in envelope. This causes the "b" to snap out and this again makes the poles

16 [15]

c-d and e-f fall down. Over these poles lie strips of cedar bark and on top of these are heavy stones (not shown in diagram). The weight kills cau'ɬ. On the ground under the trap lie a number of sticks in the same direction as c-d and e-f. This prevents cau'ɬ from digging his way from under the weight.
Little Sam made this trap for me. It is the actual size.

#55 489 twined basket $1.50
#56 490 handle of chisel $ .25
#57 491 wicker basket $ .50 [clam basket]

17 [16]

#58 492 Instrument $ .25
for making mats [creaser]

#59 493 model of bailer gratis
made by Little Sam & his wife. This is just a small model of a bailer. The actual bailers were about 1 ft long, Annie Sam says.

#60 494 wedge $ .25
= gwādāk^{u} from Little Sam's description it also seems to have been used as a chisel. It was struck with a stone hammer (= skātcīd)[26]

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[24] Leq!tid suggests 'side lure' from łəq̇=təd side + tool, implement, though łaq 'lay down' might also apply. The prey approaches the trap from the side. ZZ, Bates, Hess, and Hilbert 1994, 145.

[25] Book 8 p. 22 et. Seq [p22-30] diagram and description of a pheasant trap from Mr Little & Mrs Annie Sam. See specimen # 53, pheasant story. See Appendix D.

#61 495 roll of cherry bark $ .25
Annie Sam said that this was the usual way to keep strips of bark [wound diagonally on crossed sticks]

18 [17]

#62 496 spoon $ .25
#63 497 spoon $ .25

The two examples #62 and #63 are Klickitat spoons. Little Sam's mother brought them from the Klickitat when Little Sam was a little boy. Little Sam appears to be at least 70 years old.

#64 498 dish $1.50
= k^{u}layōltc.[27] This dish was brought by the Sam family from Canadian Indians for 5 modern blankets 16 years ago. The Sams stated expressly that the Snohomish and Snuqualmi do not make dishes of this make.

19 [18]

#65 499 model $ .75
of a Snohomish l^{u}łyōltc wooden dish
made by Little Sam. The real dishes were larger. This is a typical Snohomish dish. The Snohomish made these kind of dishes out of alder wood, sometimes also of cedar wood. The Snoqualmi made them of maple wood. (Annie Sam)

#66 500 tumpline $ .25
of dried rushes[28]
made for me by Annie Sam. Annie Sam said that this was the old kind of tumpline. The woven tumpline commonly used now is of late origin. The woven tump-line is not

20 [19]

woven on a loom, it is made by hand. Annie showed me how these woven tumplines are made.

#67 501a-e model of loom $1.00
used to make blankets
The actual loom is much larger, about 4 ft high and the width corresponds to the width of the blanket. Annie Sam although very old did not know how to weave.

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[26] ZZ, from the oldest dictionaries, provides g^{w}adaʔk^{w} 'antler, wedge'; š(ə)qačid , literally 'lift hand'.

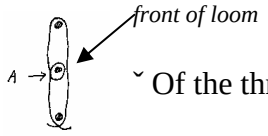
[27] Log, stick, wood + container is q^{w}əłayʔulč NL, sɬəǩ^{w}abulč SL ZZ.

[28] BC suggests common rush, *Juncus effuses*.

Neither did another old woman who was around. The only one who had an idea of it was Little Sam himself. From him I got a general idea of

21 [20]

the mode of weaving, but not all details. The warp is wound around the loom in the following way:



˘ Of the three horizontal sticks the largest one is down below. ˘

The horizontal weft is woven through the warp in a twined weave. When the blanket is finished the warp strands are cut at the point A. The loom was always made by a man.

22 [21]

#68 502 stick gratis
on which clams are stuck for roasting. See p 35 book 8.[29]

#69 503 birch bark fire brand gratis
see book 9 p 30[30]

#70 504a-c model of firedrill $ .50 made by Little Sam, for descriptions see book 9, p 28 et seq.[31]

#71 505 fernroot gratis preparation of which see book 9, p 35.[32]

#72 506 fernroot
preparation of which see book 9, p 36.[33]

23 [22]

#73 – 507, #74 – 508, #75- 509 different kinds of bulbs, for the preparation of which see book 9 pp 32-35.[34]

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[29] Book 8, p 35 Diagram of fire in front of a log deflector, with clams impaled on sticks leaning against a crossbrace. "The two forked sticks would be about 6 ft apart, sometimes less. If the clams were larger, then would be about 7 on each slanting stick. When the clams on the [p36] lower end of the stick were well roasted, these sticks would be turned around quickly so that the clams at the other end would now get the greatest heat.

[30] Book 9 p 30 Annie's grandfather timed each of Little Sam's quests by the number of days (10, 14, 15) each firebrand (or punk) was set to burn. See Appendix E.

[31] Book 9, p 28 et seq firedrill, See Appendix E.

[32] Book 9, p 35 cooking fernroot, See Appendix E.

[33] Book 9, p 36 cooking fernroot, See Appendix E.

[34] Book 9 pp 32-35 cooking bulbs Annie Sam (Nov 4, 1916), See Appendix E.

#76 510 Cowlitz basket $4.00
brought by Tulalip woman from a Cowlitz woman.

#77 511a-d model $1.50
of bows and arrows
The bow is made of tsxbēdats. The shaft of the arrows was made of cedar (= xpai' [x̣pay]). The Snohomish made the point of the arrows either of bone or of qatsāqwats.[35] Qatsāqwats is the same kind of wood used to make needles for mats. One man called it "arrow wood" in English. Little Sam

24 [23]

said that the Snoqualmi ordinarily made the point out of stone. He said that the Snohomish never used stone for the point. The point is lashed to the shaft with wild cherry bark. The feathers on the shaft are duck feathers. The arrow of this model is of the actual size. However for war the arrows were somewhat longer. The actual bow was about 7 inches longer than the one of the model. The same kind of bow was used for war and for the hunt. The string of the bow was made of twisted nettle. See next number.

25 [24]

#78 512 twisted nettle string gratis
for bow (= stsa'dzax)[36]
Nettles are split open with a sharp piece of qatsāqwats. It is then dried and twisted in double strands like this specimen.[37]

X #79 513 paddle $.75
brought from Annie Sam. She said it was a woman's paddle but Peter Sam, 36 years old, said it was a man's paddle. Oakwood.

#80 514 root-digger
made by Little Sam (called sqā'lax, the handle is called saxwā'qed)[38]

X #81 515 model of war spear $.50
made by Little Sam. It is

26 [25]

called sqwē'L!ES.[39] This was never used for the hunt, only for war. The actual spear was twice the length from hand to hand. That is to say about 10 f[ee]t long.

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[35] BC suggests the wood for a bow is western yew, *Taxus brevifolia*, and for an arrow is oceanspray, ironwood, *Holodiscus discolor*. ZZ gives q(a)cagʷac for ironwood, Bates, Hess, and Hilbert 1994, 172.

[36] Bow is c̓aʔsuč NL c̓aʔc̓us SL, ZZ, Bates, Hess, and Hilbert 1994, 293.

[37] BC suggests nettle is stinging nettle, *Urtica dioica*; sc̓ədʸx̣ ZZ.

[38] Dibble or digging stick is sq̓aləx̣; səxʷukʷəd is holder, to hold with ZZ (cf Miller 2005).

#82 516 cradle $.75
#83 517 stick for holding cradle
cradle = skākē'iɬ.[40] The baby was laid between cedar bark as show by the model. Cedar bark was also laid into the armpits, otherwise the baby would become rotten there. Some cedar bark was laid under the neck and head. As shown by the model, some cedar bark lay over the head and some was strapped over the

27 [26]

forehead. This caused the deformation of the cranium. The projection at the lower end of the cedar bark is meant for the wrapping for the feet. All the thongs in the cradle are of deer skin. Before the baby is tied into the cradle, it is washed in cold water.

The cradle is hung inside of the house on a pliable pole called dzākidiɬ, see #83.[41] All the thongs on this are likewise of deer-skins. Beside the two loops for the cradle, there was one long strap which was tied to the foot of the mother. By means of this strap she could rock the baby. The dzākidiɬ was

28 [27]

stuck into the ground.

The baby was also covered with some hide (represented by the little cloth blanket of the model). This was laid over the cedar-bark covering. This hide blanket was raised up over the head of the child by mean of a hoop represented by the wire in the model. This was done to let the baby get some air.

X #84 518 house mat $3.50
from Annie Sam. She says it took her a whole month to make this mat and three days to make the border. This is the kind of mat used to hang

29 [28]

on the walls of the winter-house and to make the summer house.

X #85 519 boy's paddle $.75
of yew wood brought from Little Sam

#86 520A,B S,T deer trap (model) $1.00 made by Little Sam
The tiōɬbax^{u} sklālētut [Wealth] showed this trap to labxqēdE≡. It is a trap for deer and elk. All the strings were made of nettle rope. The trap was called x̣uōtED[42] and was used by the Snohomish, not by the Snuqualmi. The animals were chased into

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[39] This is a long spear, also used for bottom fish, sqʷiƛ̓əb ZZ, Bates, Hess, and Hilbert 1994, 192.

[40] Cradleboard is NL skəkiʔiʔɬ from skəki 'any unnamed child' + iʔɬ 'infant' while SL is sx̣al=təd 'mark' + 'tool' presumable because it flattened the baby's forehead. ZZ, Bates, Hess, and Hilbert 1994, 302.

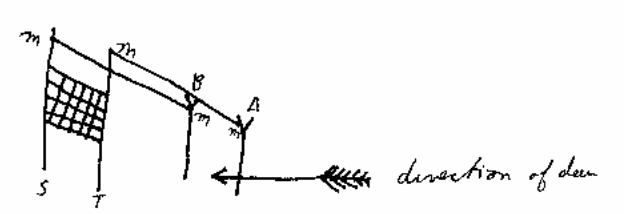
[41] Baby rocker stick is ɗ̓akʷitədiʔɬ ZZ.

[42] ZZ suggests x̌ʷutəd without ready translation except for -təd implement, tool.

this net by people (Sam said 20 boys, with clappers like that of #87). The deer would

30 [29]

become entangled in the meshes of the net.
Men would lie in the bushes at the poles A and B. As soon as the animals became



entangled in the net, these men would pull at the strings m-n so that the poles S and T would fall down and the net would cover the animals. Then the men would run up to the deer or elk and cut the sinews of both hind legs of the animals.

31 [30]

#87 521 clapper $.25
Made by Little Sam
Struck with a stick to scare up the deer and make them run into the trap #86. This clapper was called tc!ā'xwādid.[43] The string on the clapper takes the place of wild cherry bark. The men who followed the deer with these clappers shouted hē, hē, hē.

#88 522 imitation of the stick $.25
which stiqāyu sklālētut gave to s-dē'u≡ (see Book 10 pp 3 & 4).[44] The end represents a deer foot [hoof].[45] This stick is called sq!ōsid which is also the general name for "cane." It is painted red. Little Sam

32 [31]

said (Nov 8??) that he did not have such a stick. I believe however he only said this so that he would not have to explain the details of the stiqāyu sklālētut [Wolf].

#89 plant gratis
the root of which is used for black imbrication (see book 10 p 7).[46] The root was split open and the inside of the bark cleaned by scraping.

#90 grass gratis
used for white imbrication, see book 10 p 7.[47] The ridge on the convex side of this grass was cut off with a knife. The woman began cutting this ridge off at the

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[43] Meaning 'side strike, to hit on the side of something' c̓axʷadiʔd ZZ.
[44] Book 10 pp 3 & 4 Wealth Power tiōɬbaxᵘ, see Appendix F.
[45] Wolf is stiqayuʔ < from 'bushy' ZZ, Bates, Hess, and Hilbert 1994, 226.
[46] Book 10 p 7 Coiled Basketry (Sam and Annie) Nov 19, 1916, see Appendix F.
[47] Book 10 p 7 Coiled Basketry (Sam and Annie) Nov 19, 1916, see Appendix F.

33 [32]

narrow (top) end of the grass-blade. The opposite side of the grass, dimmest?? the concave side, was on the outside of the basket when the grass was used for imbrication. There are two blades in this specimen, on one the ridge is still present, on the other the ridge has already been cut off.

#91 525 coiled basket $1.00
brought from Johnny Skwāx^{u}

#92 526 coiled basket $1.00
made by the aunt of the aunt of Little Sam according to Annie. The maker of this basket was a dukwē'L!babc[48]

34 [33]

(= Pilchuck tribe). It was patched by the aunt of Little Sam, the woman from whom I brought this basket. The tump-line was made by a Snuqualmi woman.

#93 527 basket $.75
This kind of basket is called lᴇkwā't.[49] Annie said it was a very old type of basket and was used exclusively for keeping dried salmon. It was used by the Snohomish as well as by the Snuqualmi.

#94 528 basket $4.00
made by a Snohomish woman 5 years ago. The woman from whom I bought the basket (not the maker) thought that

35 [34]

the design was that of a snake.

#95 529 rope gratis
(= stēdgwad) of cedar twigs.[50] This was used to make traps for the deer (Jack Wheeler). If a canoe was to be patched, the pieces would be bound together with this rope, holes having been bored for the rope to pass through.

#96 530 basket $7.00
with Snuqualmi sg^{u}dēlētc sklālētut[51]

#97 531a-b Klickitat moccasins $.50

#98 532 model $.50
533 of moccasins
made by Snuqualmi, Skykomish, Sdōdōhomc. Not made by Snohomish but sold to them by other tribes for shell money.

36 [35]

#99 534 comb (model)

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[48] Pilchuck is Chinuk Wawa for 'red water', as is the term dxʷkʷiɬəbabš 'reddish people' ZZ.

[49] A soft basket of cedar bark is ləqʷa ZZ.

[50] A cedar limb is stidgʷəd, on old growth they were very long and supple ZZ.

[51] These powerful objects are sgʷədilič, Bates, Hess, and Hilbert 1994, 100.

Third box sent to Museum Nov 14, 1916 Charges for this box

Making of box	$1.75
Transfer to station	~~.55~~ > .75

In this box all specimen were sent which are <u>not</u> marked √ or + . Complete cost of 3rd box $34.~~25~~ > $34.50

37 [36]

The price of the specimens sent to Museum in box on Oct 27, 1916 was $87.05

Specimens marked X were sent to Museum on Nov, 8 1916 (second box)

The following is a copy of the charges of this second box:

#6	paddle	$1.50
#48	"	.50
#49	"	.50
#50	"	.50
#79	"	.50
#81	model of spear	.50
#84	house-mat	.50
#85	paddle	.50
boxing of specimens		.75
total	$9.75	

total charges

1st box	$ 87.05
2nd box	9.75
3rd box	34.50
	$131.30

[The following appendices (B >) repeat the footnote added to Notebook 13 itself, then provide the full commentary extracted from other notebooks.

Appendix B: Note 8 Shells

8. Book 5, p. 23 Jules tells me that two kind of shell money was used: tc!auwai and s'o'lax.

1 -- tc!auwai was made of clam shells found in Snohomish country. See shell of collection No 16. Of this shell round disks were cut about 1 cm in diameter. A hole was made in each bead so that it could be strung up. These beads must be white and quite round. They were carefully smoothed and rounded on a rough stone on the beach.

2 -- s'o'lax this was made of little tubular shells shaped thus XX [dentalia]. This is about the natural size. They were strung [double] as shown above, always [p24] two side by side on two strings with a round bead between the pairs. The two ends of the string of beads were always joined so that the string was in form of a loop. The measurements are taken for the <u>double</u> line of beads. Thus a fathom of so'lax means the length of a string from one hand to the other and then back to the first constituting the loop. The shells of so'lax were not found in Snohomish country but were traded from northern Indians. For this reason so'lax was considerably more expensive than tc!auwai the shells of which were found at home. Jules said that so'lax was always valued just twice as much as tc!auwai.* see opposite page [p24b]

* Jules said that while so'lax was always measured in a loop that is to say double, tc!auwai was always strung on a thread with two ends and was measured "single." Now if so'lax (measured double) is worth twice as much as tc!auwai (measured single), then the two are really of equal value as far as the actual length of the string strung with shell is concerned. Jules could not comprehend this & persisted in saying that so'lax is just twice as valuable as tc!auwai.

tc!auwai is always strung on one string, not on two like so'lax. [p25] Thus Jules said that a good canoe would be worth about 4 fathoms of so'lax, but 8 fathoms of tc!auwai. A very large canoe would cost more than this.

An ordinary basket was worth about 1 fathom of so'lax. A very good one about 2 fathoms of so'lax. Jules never heard of teeth of animals (= dentalia) being used as money among the Snohomish.

20 fathoms of so'lax might buy a slave. A very good slave would cost 30 or 40 fathoms. The price varied with the size and strength of the slave.

A very important feature about so'lax was to see whether there were [p26] any shells broken on the string. If any shells were at all broken, they would be discounted from the total value of the string. A person who was getting so'lax was very careful to ascertain how many shells were defective. [lists measures of money by span (chest to thumb) and fathom (outstretched hand tip to hand tip). Printed in Haeberlin and Gunther 1930, 29]

Cf also Book 9, page 28 Annie same Nov 5, 1916

The old people used to use shells (tc!auwai') as spoons. With these they would dip the food out of the basket. The shells were used just as they are without handles.

When soup was boiled in basket with hot stones, the stones would be left in the basket when the people started to eat. Then when the basket got empty, they would take the stones out. Finally the people would lick out the basket with their fingers.

Appendix C: Note 12 Wolf

12 Book 17, pp. 13 et seq [13-16] true story, retold after false start, See Appendix C.

Grandfather & grandmother went out to travel. One fall the grandfather, grandmother, and uncle went up river in canoe. They came to a portage. They came up to a place where they heard a wolf howling. Grandma went up to wolf & found that wolf was in misery. Wolf had a big bone in mouth & could not close mouth. Grandmother took a digging stick, shoved it between teeth & pulled out bone. She patted wolf & said, You need not pay me now, but you think of me & give me something later. Next year when they came back there was a fine buck dead lying at the [p14] same place. This happened for 5 years, after that the Wolf must have died. This woman had a Wolf as her skālitut which she got as young girl when she bathed & fasted.

[retold pp 14 et seq.]
Retold from pp 13 and 14
Told by Mrs. Josephine Leclair

This is a "true" story according to Mrs. Leclair.

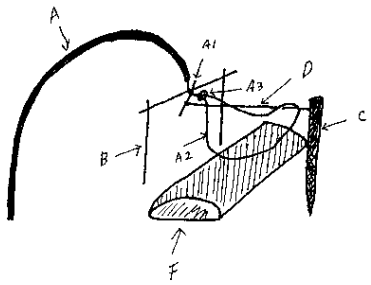
One fall the grandparents and uncle of Mrs. Leclair traveled up the river in a canoe. They came to a portage. One day the grandmother came to a place where she heard a wolf howling. The grandmother [p15] went up to the wolf and found that he was in misery. The Wolf had a big bone which was sticking in his mouth in such a way that he could not close his jaws. The woman took her digging-stick, shoved it between the wolf's teeth, and in this way pulled out the bone. Then she patted the wolf and said: "You need not pay me now, but remember me and give me something later." When they got back to the same place next year, they found a fine dead buck lying there. They found a buck of this kind at this place for five years. After that the Wolf must have died. The ska'letut of this woman was the wolf. She got [p16] it as a young girl when she was fasting and bathing. For this reason she was not afraid of a wolf.

The grandmother herself told this story to Mrs. Leclair. Mrs. Leclair obviously believed it herself.

Appendix D: Note 20 Pheasant

20 Book 8 p. 22 et. Seq [p22-30] diagram and description of a pheasant trap from Mr. & Mrs. Little Sam (Annie). See specimen #53, pheasant story. See Appendix D.

pheasant trap Little Sam and his wife see specimen # 53



A is a pliable stick with the string A2 and the loop A3 of cherry bark. A was held down to the arch B by means of the little stick A1 attached to the string of A. The little stick was again held in place by means of stick D which was set against C. F represents a [p23] rotten log covered with moss. The string was made to lie over this log and the stick D. The pheasant laid its eggs on moss as on that of log. When the pheasant flew down upon the log, the stick D would come out of place and cause A to snap up and this in turn would close the sling catching the pheasant.

The Sams both assured me that the Snohomish did not use this trap, but that it was characteristic of the Snuqualmi.

The model obtained from Little Sam (specimen # 53) is smaller than the actual trap used.

Besides pheasants, loons and ducks were also caught with this trap. When [p24] loons were caught salmon was put on the log. When ducks were caught rotten salmon was the bait.

When pheasants were caught, two sticks wrapped with moss (see #53E) were stuck into the rotten log, one at each end (not shown in diagram). These were the "wives" of rotten log. Without these "wives" on the log, it would be impossible to catch pheasants. When loons or ducks are trapped there are not "wives" on the log. They are only used when pheasants are trapped. This usage is explained by the following story which the Sams told me:

There are five pheasants camping [p25] on a river at a place called Sa'tsqad. They are four brothers and one sister. The girl is a pheasant, the men are Steel-head salmon, but as far as I could make out, are pheasants at the same time. The woman has five children, four boys and one girl. The brothers of the pheasant woman (the steel-head salmon) are married. Wild-cat (= p!etcɛβ) wants to marry pheasant woman, but she does not like him because he has an ugly face.

Pheasant woman has four sisters. She asks them to go to get crab-apples with her. She climbs up a crab-apple tree and begins to sing. Wild-cat sees her, and shoots her in the anus. [p26]

This does not kill her. She simply pulls the arrow out and goes home. Wild-cat runs away because he is afraid of the revenge of the brothers of pheasant woman.

The pheasant has the Old Log as a husband. This husband is the log F in the trap (see diagram). Pheasant is very fond of this husband. Her 5 children are children of this log. The Old Log has two more wives. These are the "wives" of the trap (#53E), namely the two sticks with moss put up on the log of the trap. These two women talk bad about pheasant, so the pheasant comes and fights with them, first with the one, then with the other. [p27]

The Wild-cat (p!etcɛβ) makes trap (#53) for the pheasant over the Old Log. When pheasant is caught in it, the Wild-cat is glad and eats her. The daughter of pheasant goes to the

trap and sees the blood of her mother. She knows that her mother has been killed and goes home and cries. She tells her uncles, the Steel-head-salmons, that her mother has been killed.

The youngest brother of the dead pheasant woman goes to a place where wild-cat is want to cross a river on a log. (Log lies over river). On this log he makes a trap for the wild-cat. The wild-cat is caught and falls into the river and dies. (End)

Annie Sam [p27a] (wife of Little Sam) said that the five pheasants are called sdōdōhōmc.
This [p28] is a Snuqualmi story.

Little Sam is a pure Snohomish. He learned the use of the trap from the grandfather of Annie Sam (= Little Sam 's wife). She is partly a Snuqualmi. This old man was very fond of Little Sam, because he was clean and would not wet the bed, as Annie Sam put it. He taught Little Sam to make this pheasant trap. For this the mother of Little Sam gave the grandfather of Mrs. Sam (= Annie Sam) two blankets.

At the time Little Sam learned to use the pheasant trap he also got the sq^{u}lōβ (= pheasant [sg^{w}əlub]) sklaletut. He fasted for a number of days. Then [p29] he finds a white pheasant. The feathers are all white. This pheasant was a woman, said Annie Sam. Little Sam sleeps with the (sq^{u}lōβ = pheasant). He sleeps in the bushing [??] right next to the pheasant trap. He sleeps two days and two nights. Then the grandfather of Mrs. Sam (Annie) went out to get Little Sam. He carries him home and lets him sleep five days in the house. Then he makes the boy bathe, smashes up some salmon and makes some soup of it in a basket. Sam tries to eat it 3 times, but vomits it everytime, finally the fourth time the soup stays down.

As far as I could make out, [p30] it was essential for Little Sam to get the sq^{u}lōβ sklālētut in order to catch pheasants with the trap.

Little Sam also has the cau'ɬ (ground hog [mountain beaver]) sklālētut …

Appendix E: Notes 26 – 29
Firedrill, Cooking, Fernroots, and Bulbs

26 Book 9, p 28 et seq firedrill

Fire-drill = cō'laktcup, this was made of the root of a tree called xā'q!tī. This tree does not grow in this country, it grows on the upper part of the Snohomish river.

The next day (Nov 4, 1916) Sam made me a model of a firedrill (see specimen #70). Annie now explained to me that only the stick upon which is drilled and the point of the driller is made of xā'q!tī. The rest of the driller is made of black wild cherry. The point is bound to the handle by means of wild cherry bark. If xā'q!tī (root of) can not be obtained, then pussy willow was used for the point of the driller and the wood upon which was drilled. Very dry cedar bark was used as fuse.

Story [p30-32] of how Little Sam was sent out to quest by Annie's own Grandfather, with a dry cedarbark firebrand (like specimen #69) set to burn 10 days, then for 14 days, and, last, for 15 days, when he succeeded. "When I [HKH] insisted upon knowing the name of this sklālītut, Little Sam suddenly burst out in tears and sobbed. On asking him he said that if he told me that name he would have to die. After appeasing the old man, he proceeded to tell men about this sklālītut."[52]

27 Book 9, p 35 Cooking, Preparation of the fern-root of specimen # 71.

The root is baked [scorched?] over a fire. Then it is scraped with a stick. Then it is pounded on a rock with a stick called stā'tcōq!^{u}. This pounding makes it possible to tear the outside fibers of the root from the inside ones.

The outside fibers are eaten with dried salmon eggs. The inside fibers [p36] are dried over the fire, smashed up to powder and eaten with fresh salmon eggs.

[BC suggests #71 is hairy brackenfern, *Pteridium aquilinum* (L.) Kuh var. *pubescens*.]

28 Book 9, p 36 Cooking, Preparation of the fern-root of specimen # 72.

The ends of the little individual bulbs are cut off (Annie cut a few ends off of the specimen in my collection). Then the roots are cooked in the following way: First stones are heated, then the following layers are put on them: fern leaves, sallal berry twigs, then fern-roots, sallal berry twigs, fern leaves and a layer of sand & ashes ½ to 1 ft deep. On top of this a fire is made. The roots cook for 24 hours. When cooked the little individual bulbs are broken off from (continued on opposite page !) [p36a] (continued from p 36) the roots and the skin is torn off them. They are eaten with dry salmon eggs.

[BC suggests #72 is common ladyfern, *Athyrium filix-femina* [L.] Roth, or perhaps spreading woodfern, *Dryopteris expansa* (K. Presl) Fraser-Jenkins & Jermy.]

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[52] Dr Brian Compton [BC, 7 Dec 03], in looking at this note, draws a comparison to Twana use of yellow willow for a fire drill (Elmendorf 1960, 219) and wrote "The contemporary nomenclature for this tree would be *Salix lucida* Muhl. ssp. *lasiandra* (Benth.) E. Murr. (pacific willow)."

29 Book 9 pp 32-35 cooking bulbs Annie Sam (Nov 4, 1916)

Preparation of the dzā'bēt bulbs (see specimen #73 – 507). It was boiled by means of hot rocks in a basket together with salmon. A soup was made in this way. There was another way of making dzā'bēt, namely as follows:

A hole was made in the ground and a fire made in it. The stones were laid on top of four sticks laid thus # (seen from above) and a fire built underneath. The fire would consume the sticks on which the stones lay and the stones would fall down. On top of the hot rocks would be laid a layer of hemlock twigs, then some wild pea vines, then salal-berry leaves then wild pea vines, the hemlock twigs, then a layer of sand about 1 ft deep. Then a fire was built on top. The bulbs were cooked for 3 days and 2 nights in this way.

[BC links #73 to the Lushootseed term for rooty vegetables and to unattributed plant in Bates, Hess, and Hilbert (1994, 87). The wild pea vines may have been American verch, *Vicia Americana*].

Preparation of tsāgwītc (see specimen #75- 509)

Cooked in basket by means of hot stones together with salmon to make soup.
[BC suggests #75 "is probably Lilium columbanun (Columbian or tiger lily)".]

Tc!ālēq!^{u} (see specimen #74 – 508) was cooked in the same way, however, with clams, never with salmon.

Tc!ālēq!^{u} and tsāgwītc are also prepared in the following way:

A fire is built in sand. Then the hot sand and ashes are pushed aside and maple leaves are laid on the sand, then the bulbs are put on the leaves, and the bulbs are then again covered with maple leaves. Over this is then put a [p35] layer of hot ashes and sand. The bulbs are allowed to cook 1 to 1 1/2 hours. The sand is brushed away carefully with a duck wing. When tsāgwītc is cooked in this way it is eaten with salmon eggs.

[BC suggests identifications of salal as *Gaultheria shallon* Pursh, western hemlock as *Tsuga heterophylla* [Raf.] Sarg., and maple as perhaps bigleaf maple, *Acer macrophyllum* Pursh.]

Appendix F: Notes 39, 41, 42

39 Book 10 pp 3 & 4 Wealth Power tiōłbax^{u}, see Appendix F.
#88 522 imitation of the stick $ .25

which stiqāyu sklālētut gave to s-dē'u≡ (see Book 10 pp 3 & 4). The end represents a deer foot [hoof]. This stick is called sq! ōsid which is also the general name for "cane." It is painted red. Little Sam [p32 [31]] said (Nov 8??) that he did not have such a stick. I believe however he only said this so that he would not have to explain the details of the stiqāyu sklālētut.

tiōłbax^{u} [tiyułbaxad]

s-dē'u≡ fasts 10 days. Then he makes a cedar raft and gets a rock. He goes out on the lake with the raft. When he is in the middle of the lake, he puts water into his ears, take the rock into his hands, and descends into the lake. He comes to the house of stiqāyu. Stiqāyu teaches him to make traps and to catch seal, sturgeon, flounders, smelt, sole, salmon, deer. After coming up out of the water, s-dē'u≡ slept 2 days and 1 night.

stiqāyu gave s-dē'u≡ a stick with a carved deer foot at the end (see specimen # 88)

[p4] The daughter of s-dē'u≡ waved this cane. At once 10 he-elks and 10 she-elks dropped dead by themselves.

Sam has the stiqāyu sklālētut and can hunt deer. I reminded him of the fact that the preceding day he had told me that no Snohomish ever hunted the deer. He said that he had just said that to me the preceding day, because he did not want to talk about his sklālētut. (He always began to cry when I urged him to tell me about one of his sklālētuts.) To-day he said that a Snohomish with a stiqāyu sklālētut could hunt deer and also the bear. Stiqāyu s-dē'u≡

41 Book 10 p 7 Coiled Basketry (Sam and Annie) Nov 19, 1916, see Appendix F.
42 Book 10 p 7 Coiled Basketry (Sam and Annie) Nov 19, 1916, see Appendix F.

The Snohomish did not make any coiled baskets. Sam & Annie never positive on this point. But the Snuqualmi make these baskets. The foundation was made of dried cedar roots (= ts! āpx).

The material for the black imbrication is called dābts. It is the root of the plant of specimen # 89. The material for the white imbrication is called tcatōlbix^{u}. This is a mountain grass which the Indians get in the Cascade Mountains. For samples of this grass see specimen # 90.

ts!āpx, dābts, and tcatōlbix^{u} are all dried.[53] Before using these materials the women soak them in water to [p8] make them pliable. They would break otherwise. [54]

Twined baskets (= xalā'yōtsid) were made by the Snohomish, Snuqualmi, Sdodohomc [Pilchucks], and Skykomish. When these twined baskets were finished the woman fills them with dry sand and leaves them that way for a few hours. This is done "to straighten them out."

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[53] These are cedar root = c̓apx̣, horsetail = daps, and bear grass = c̓̓ətulbix^{w} (Bates, Hess, and Hilbert 1994 – 51, 71, 77, 297, 317, 321).

[54] BC suggests cedar is *Thuja plicata*, the black is *Equisetum*, and the white grass is *Xerophyllum tenas*, bear grass.

Appendix G: Note 18 Mountain Beavers

HKH recorded the most complete information on this species, whose past ethnographic record is confused. Not only did he collect stories in which it figured and ethnographic details of its use, but he also collected a pelt and trap now at AMNH. In the Northwest, mountain beaver (now *Aplodontia rufa* (Rafinesque)) has two subspecies of *A. rufa rufa* around Mt Hood and the Puget lowlands, which is smaller, and of *A. rufa rainieri* (Merriam), found in the higher Cascades. Distinguished by long whiskers and claws, it eats any and all vegetation, including fir and hemlock twigs in winter. It sometimes diverts streams into tunnels, and occasionally gnaws bark and trims trees.[55] It is a most curious animal.

> The mountain beaver is not a beaver, nor does it live in the mountains. It inhabits the damp, forested foothills of the Cascade Range of Washington, Oregon, and California. Commonly known in Oregon as a boomer, it does not boom; in some sections called a whistler, it does not whistle. This much misnamed rodent and its eight subspecies have been set apart in a family of their own. They are found nowhere outside of North America.[56]

It often plays the role of heroine in epics, such as the War of the Winds set in the Duwamish Valley. Industry, year around activity, tunnel engineering, and plant care are hallmarks of this chubby, bobtailed rodent, which is usually about a foot long and weighs a few pounds. Such strongly female, domestic associations make it an ideal wife in folklore.

From entrances usually behind a bush or stump, it digs shallow burrows through soft, moist ground; emerges mostly at night due to poor eyesight, and is remarkably guileless. These rambling tunnels, with a roof plastered with packed clay and a floor of dry leaves and grass, include a nest chamber. Active all year, it continues to tunnel through deep snow. During a flood, however, it swims out to find refuge at the highest elevations.[57]

An intensive herbivore, it delights in young fruit trees and fresh farm crops in new fields so that it quickly becomes a nuisance near human cultivation. It will scout for food by climbing saplings as much as 15 feet tall, trimming back side branches with its teeth to leave gripping stubs. Later, it will cut down the tree itself for food.

Members live dispersed, sometimes in scattered neighborhoods but never in colonies. Such habitat spacing is encouraged by a strong musky odor. They mate February to March. Females gestate a month, and have a litter of two to five pups, which are grey with large heads and closed eyes. They can be made into pets if confined outside in large enough enclosures to permit burrows, but they quickly die when held captive inside.[58]

> The head is large, wide and low with small eyes, small ears and long vibrissae. The legs are short and heavy, but the forefeet are small and handlike;

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[55] Walter Dalquist, Mammals of Washington, 1948, 367-369; Arthur Kruckeberg, The Natural History of Puget Sound, 1991, 213-215; Ian Cowan and Charles Guiguet, The Mammals of British Columbia, 1978.

[56] Ralph DeSola, American Wild Life Illustrated, 1946, 57-60.

[57] Ralph DeSola, American Wild Life Illustrated, 1946, 57-60.

[58] Walter Dalquist, Mammals of Washington, 1948, 367-369.

> the hindfeet are large and powerful. The claws of both forefeet and hindfeet are long and strong. … The feet are pink. [59]
>
> The animals are most abundant near springs, streams and damp places, although they are not aquatic. The tangled jungles of deciduous trees and shrubs that grow in ravines and stream valleys of the Puget Sound area present optimum habitat. … Small streams flow through some burrows. … [One] nest was composed of the leaves and stems of bracken [ferns] laced together with grass and fine twigs. [60]
>
> Although principally nocturnal, mountain beavers are not infrequently active by day, especially in the fall. At this season they harvest food and spread it on logs to dry. The cured hay is removed to their burrows for nesting material and food. … In winter they eat such evergreen shrubs as salal (*Gaultheria shallon*) and Oregon grape (*Berberis nervosa*). They also eat the bark of trees, especially that of the willow (*Salix*). Under cover of snow, in the mountains, they burrow to some extent and pack excavated earth in snow burrows. The melting of the snow in the spring reveals the earth core, six to eight inches in diameter and two to four feet long. Several such earth cores were forked, showing that part of the earth had been pushed into a branching burrow.[61]
>
> The mountain beaver holds its food in its forefeet, squirrellike, when it eats. Its food consists of the leaves and bark of woody plants and entire herbs, including roots. The mountain beaver is the only mammal so far as known that eats the bracken fern. It feeds on the branches of coniferous trees, including Douglas fir, red cedar, and hemlock. Such thorny species as blackberry, black-cap and devil's club are eaten. The odiferous skunk cabbage and the stinging nettle are on its bill of fare. A list of its food would include most plants found in its habitat, and we know of no species that it refuses as food. …[62]
>
> It undermines roads and trails and defiles springs and streams. Control is simple for the animals readily enter steel traps set in their burrows.[63]

Its burrows can have up to a 19 inch diameter, with separate chambers for nest, offal, and food,

> … surrounded by fan-shaped earth mounds and pathways; in very wet areas, a "tent" of sticks covered with leaves and fern fronds erected over burrow entrances; in late summer, "hay piles" of ferns and other vegetations up to 2 feet high on logs or ground.[64]

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[59] Dalquist 1948, 367-69.
[60] Dalquist, 1948, 367-369.
[61] Dalquist, 1948, 367-369.
[62] Dalquist, 1948, 367-369.
[63] Dalquist, 1948, 367-369.
[64] John Whitaker, jr, The Audubon Society Field Guide to North American Mammals, 1980, 367.

> Baseball-size balls of stone or clay [they] encountered in digging, which the animal occasionally gnaws upon to sharpen its teeth and used to close off nesting or feeding areas when vacated.[65]

In all, mountain beavers eat and act much like humans. Natives relied on bracken fern roots as a major food, along with other roots and berries. Nettles, willows, and devil's club are important medicines, and nettle fiber was once woven into nets. Evergreen wood was carved into a variety of tools. As competitors for the same resources, natives and mountain beavers would have frequently observed each other and recognized their common bonds.

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[65] Whitaker, Audubon Guide, Mammals, 1980, 368.

Notebook 32 [HKH]

Specimens 1917 Puyallup

July 6 large basket $8.00 no 1 502/841
Brought from Joe Swayle. "Fly" diagram around rim. Joe did not know what the main design was. It was made on the "White River" by the Renton band (or a Puyallup people). (Renton Indians = Dwamish)

July 2 twined basket $2.50 no 2 /842
Bought from Joe Swayle. Made by Chehalis woman

2

#3 brought from white woman in Tacoma. It is from East of mts $2.00 /843

#4 brought from white woman in Tacoma. Made by a young Cowlitz girl .50 /844

#5-23 inclusively were brought on the Muckleshoot reservation

3

cabEdoltc[66]

#8 and #14 have the design cabed according to Old Anne, who made no 14 (not no 8) ca'bid is a net for catching ducks according to Annie [Sam] But the man who sold me net no 20 also called this ca'bEd. He said it was used for catching fish in a creek.[67] A basket with a ca'bed design was called cabEdoltc by old Anne. was

#10 old bag of hide used in Indian?? [Treaty] War in Governor Steven's time. Morris Lobehan said that it used to be higher. It has been trimmed down he said.

E

#5 made by Snuqualmi woman (basket) $2 /845
#6 made by Muckleshoot (basket) .50 /846
#7 (basket) 4.00 /847
#8 Muckleshoot (basket) ca'bEd (net for ducks) 1.00 /848
#9 Muckleshoot (basket) 1.00 /849
#10 buckskin bag used in war of Gov Stevens .75 /850
#11 Muckleshoot (basket) 4.00 /851
#12 made by Snuqualmi (basket) 4.00 /852
#13 " " " " (basket) 3.00 /853

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[66] Called a trawl net, it had a pocket and was hauled between paired canoes, this term šəbidulc means 'net + design' (literally 'basket, container') ZZ. The diagram of this net use was left out of the English version of Haeberlin and Gunther.

[67] Such nets, of course, were efficiently deployed on land, air, and water to catch deer, ducks, and fish. Certain habitats and locale conditions called for distinctive coloring and design of the net, but it had many generic usages.

4

#16 and #17 have the design ts!aut?? "gills of salmon" according to Old Annie who made the basket.[68] Anne is a Muckleshoot. A basket with this design is called ts!aitolitz

[taɬ = spear head for catching salmon]

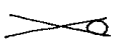
4 ?

kwaux^{u} Klickitat Snuqualmi ts!aitolitz[69]

14 made by old Anne (Muckleshoot) 2.00 50.2/854
ca'bEd (basket)
15 Klickitat bag 1.00 /855
16 made by Old Anne (ts!ait) (basket) 1.50 /856
17 " " " 4.00 /857
18 bow and arrows 4.00 /858 A to U [A, B-U]
19 net for salmon (with string) 1.50 /859
kwaux^{u}
20 net for little fish .75 /860
ca'bEd
21 Snuqualmi moccasins for men & woman 2.00 /861 AB 16.75

5

#20 is a net for catching little fish like trout in creek. A hoop of wood was fastened to mouth & attached to pole. It is called ca'bEd.

#19 is a net for catching salmon. It is called kwaix^{u}. A hoop was fastened to two cross-wise poles  . It was dipped into the water from a platform. A string ran in some way from the end to the finger of the fisher. When a fish got into the trap the fisher would know it by the jerking of the string.

[6] 5

woman's skirt, made by Muckleshoot woman 10.00 /862
mat ~~basket~~ making implement .25 /863

July 11, 1917 I sent Goddard the first shipment of specimens from Auburn, Wash. They were specimens #5-23. The cost of this shipment was as follows:
$47.25 for specimens
.85 for boxing
48.10 total

7

parfleches like #27 were <u>not</u> made by Squalli.

Pete Kalama said that Squalli never made mats like those of nos 32 & 33. These mats the Squalli got from Sound Indians in British Columbia.

---

[68] Gills = sc̓ayʔt ZZ.

[69] ts!aitolitz may be sc̓ayʔtulc gill + basket (design).

He also said that Squalli only made stiff baskets. (This contradicts what Henry Martin said). Basket #31 also came from British Columbia Indians.

Squalli only make soft baskets

8 [6]

Nisqually Sq [Squaxsin ??] Skokomish
24 basket .50 50.2/864
25 " 1.00 /865
26 Skokomish basket 6.00 /866
27 Yakima parfleche, traded to Squalli 5.00 /867
28 basket (Skokomish) 3.50 /868
29 spoon of horn .25 X
30 Skokomish basket 3.50 /869
31 basket from BC Indians, not made by Squally .25 /870
32 mat from BC Indians not made by Squally 1.00 /871
21.00

#34 is an old Cowlitz basket. An old Cowlitz woman sold it to me. She said it had been made before she was born.

#38 This is the oldest basket that the Indians know about. They prized it very highly & all agreed upon the great age. They said it was 200 years old. This is very likely exaggerated. They were positive in asserting that it was made by the <u>great grandmother</u> of an old woman who died about 2 year ago at the age of 75 years. The maker of the basket was a Squalli woman. The basket was made among the Squalli.

Quinault
33 mat from BC Indians 1.00 /872
not made by Squalli
34 Cowlitz basket, old 8.00 /873
35 wooden spoon .75 /874
36 Quinault basket 1.24 /875
37 Chehalis basket (Chehalis) 2.00 /876
38 very old Squalli basket 8.00 /877
200 years old
24.00

#24-38 were bought on the Nisqualli reservation.

x

13.65
6.65
<u>4.50</u>
24.89
57
<u>48.10</u>
129.90

8

Second shipment of specimens from Tacoma in two boxes on July 21, 1917. Pieces were marked #1-4 and ?-38. The cost was as follows:

Specimens	$55.00
Boxing	1.00
Cartage	1.00
	57.00 total

57.00
48.10
52.30
157.40

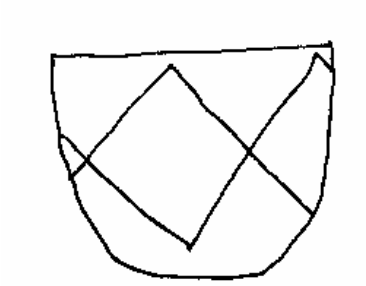
9

tamanuwus — Tulalip Snuqualmi

#39 paddle .75 /891
#40 twined basket, made on Tulalip reservation .50 /879
#41 basket made by woman partly Snuqualmi, partly Yakima
2.00 /880
#42 basket from Quinault 4.00 /881
#43 basket 1.00 /882
#44 new? Basket 4.00 /883
#45 tamanawus stick (tŏstEd) .40 /884[70]
#46 basket (wicker weave) 1.00 /885

x

#47 was a type of canoe called sdŭx̣ʷwiɬ.[71] It was used on saltwater for catching seal, sturgeon, etc??
#50 & #51 both have the gill-net design (= L!ots!Lots!itoib).[72] The design is not quite finished on #50. Mrs Jules said it might to go higher up. I saw another basket much larger, thus



The design was also called L!ots! L!ots!itub by Mrs Jules. ??

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[70] These poles are təstəd, related to sgʷədilič, Bates, Hess, and Hilbert 1994, 100.
[71] This is the hunting canoe, sdəxʷiɬ.
[72] This seems to refer to ƛ̓uc̓ƛ̓učitəb ‘the webbing of a net’ ZZ.

x

Snohomish sduχwiɬ
47 model of canoe .50 /886
48 unfinished basket, made by girl .25 /887
49 ditto .25 /888
50 made by Skagit woman for children 1.50 /889
(mother-in-law of Charlie Jules)
51 ditto 1.00 /890
52 spoon .15 X??
53 man's paddle 1.50 50.2/878
54 basket 1.50 /890

11

55 basket, design called "fern leaf" 3.00 /893
56 model of water bucket .50 50.2/894
Larger bucket of this kind were made. Four sides were made of one piece of wood, which was soaked in water & heated & bent at grooves. The old type of bucket also had handle of twigs. These buckets were said to keep water. Fern leaves were put over bucket to keep water clean. The ends of the piece of wood used for 4 sides was joined together by pegs of cedar. Bottom was fastened to sides by the same means. The seams were made water-tight by means of pitch. Bucket was made of cedar.

12

sgudeletc sklaletut
#57 model of board of swudeletch .25 /895
(see other notebooks)
#58 model of tamanuwas pole (tostEd) .25 /896
of sgudeletc sklaletut. Real pole was about 10 feet long
#59 model of Snohomish instrument .50 /897
for killing shark when boy dove into water to get spirit (See book #34).[73] Original somewhat longer. Two pieces tied together with cedar twigs.
#60 model of stick to scare up flounder gratis /897
Original much longer (See book #34)[74]

#76 pin for holding blanket together gratis / [page total =] 1.00
(numbered #60 by mistake, two no 60 in my collection)

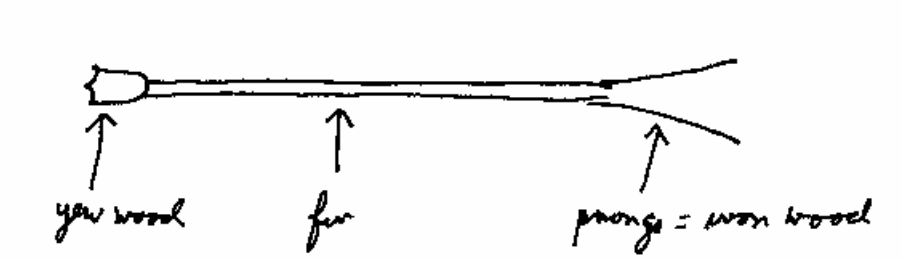
13

stone celt taɬ
#61 stone chisel found by Annie Sam near her house gratis /899
#62 basket made on Tulalip reserv[ation] 3.00 /900
#63 harpoon for catching seal & sturgeon (called taɬ) 3.00 /901 A-D
This model was made by Little Sam. The original was longer. The parts of the original were made of the following material

---

[73] Haeberlin and Gunther 1930, 69.

[74] Book #34, devoted to clothing and tools, mentions [p3] "Men in canoe came from shore & scared flounder [into net] by splashing a long pole (= pŏx^{u}tɛd) in water. This pole was 2½ the distance of outstretched arms and was wider at end. Made of one piece."



Duck float was made [of] cedar. The point of detachable heads was made of seasoned yew wood (also horn?). The two "ears"
[page total =] 6.00

x

of the head were made of elk-horn. The rope was made of bark. The rope was fastened to shaft of harpoon by means of a slip-knot. They would open as soon as animal was hit. The harpooned animal would drag float along. When it was tired out the hunter grabbed hold of float by projection at its tail. Then the hunter killed the animal by thrusting a sharp spear made of seasoned yew-wood several times into the back of the head of the animal.

A harpoon for catching salmon was made similarly. It also had two prongs, the spear heads were detachable, but were tied to spear-shaft by means of rope. If spear head were not detachable, the fish would break off prongs of harpoon.

32-14b

Lillooet Klickitat
#69 This basket is interesting because it is a mixture of the Lillooet & the Klickitat type. The woman from whom I brought it was sure that it was made by a Skagit woman. She proclaimed it to be a basket of the typical Skagit type. The designs are "combs" (= cɛpcɛpa's)[75]
#70 The design is that of "flounders."
#71 Mrs Johnson said that the head dress was used in treaty-day for qwaxq sklalitut. But she says it might properly be used for any kind of sklalitut. When it is used, duck feathers are put on the cedar bark.

x

Suquamish Skag[it]'s qwoxq – sklalitut[76]

#64 basket 2.50 /902
#65 clam basket .50 /903
#66 basket made by Suquamish (?) 1.50 /904
woman from whom I brought this basket thought that [a] Suquamish woman made it
#67 paddle (man's) .25 /905
#68 needle for making mats .25 /906
#69 Skagit basket, "combs" [design] 6.00 /907
#70 basket made by wife of Tommy Johnson, flounder-pattern 4.00 /908
#71 cedar headdress .25 /910
used on treaty day with qwoxq – sklalitut (used with duck feathers)

x

[75] Combs is šəpšəpac ZZ.
[76] Probably q̓ʷuxqʷ(əd).

#72 This is a storage basket. Mrs Johnson claims that in olden times they had the same kind of basket with a lid just like this one.

#74 The designs on this basket are Lek!Luk!ola, which are the gamb[rel] poles of a mat house to which the mats are tied. Or more correctly I believed the Lek!Luk!ola are notched & hold the horizontal poles of roof to which the mats are tied.

x

added up numbers
#72 basket used in old times .25 /909
Old time basket also lid like this one.
#73 basket 1.00 /911
#74 basket with Lek!Luk!ola design 2.00 /912
#75 gambling set 3.00 /913 A-U
#76 pin for holding blanket together 50.2/914
numbered #60 by mistake, see p 12

On Aug 4 1917, I sent Goddard a third shipment of specimens in 3 boxes from Marysville, Wash. The specimens were numbered from #39-#76.

For specimens	$52.30
Boxing & cartage	1.25
Total	$53.55

x

<u>random note:</u>

golatc = a fish net manipulated by one man in a river to catch salmon.[77] It is attached to pole & dipped into water. It is cone-shaped. Tommy Johnson said that it is not the same as ca'bɛd. The later is manipulated by four men, two in each canoe.

$48.10	1st shipment	July 11, 1917
57.00	2nd "	July 21, 1917
53.00	3rd "	Aug 4, 1917
$158.65		

$ 175.00
-- 158.65
$ 16.35 remainder

x

svastika Swinomish
#77 blanket of mountain goat wool 1/50 50.2/915
Made by Swinomish woman. Originally white but dyed brown by woman from whom I brought it.
This blanket I sent to Goddard by insured parcel post on Aug. [13, 1917]

#78-82 plant specimens

[77] Dip net is qʷuləc ZZ.

#83 basket 4.50 /915
design "lakes running into one another"
#84 Yakima bag 1/50 /916
#85 basket with svastika design 2.00 /917

31 –19 x

#86 bead[ed] belt, native string $1.50 /918
(beads strung on native string)
#87 belt with beadwork, of leather 2.00 /919
#88 basket with "box" design 3.00 /920

On Aug 17, 1917 I sent Goddard 1 box of specimens (nos 83-88) from Auburn, Wash.[78] The charges of this shipment were:

specimens	$ 14.50
boxing-cartage	.50
	$ 15.00

32-20 x

Complete list of shipments of specimens

$ 48.10	(1 box) 1st shipment	July 11, 1917
57.00	(2 boxes) 2nd "	July 21, 1917
53.55	(3 boxes) 3rd "	Aug 4, 1917
1.50	(parcel post)	Aug 13, 1917
15.00	1 box (express	Aug 17, 1917)
$175.15	total	

=====
=====

[78] Auburn, in King County, was platted by Levi Ballard, father of Arthur, under the name of Slaughter, in memory of Lt William Slaughter, who was slain in the Treaty War when he stood in a fire-lit doorway. The Muckleshoot reservation is nearby. It is unclear that Arthur and Herman ever met, though ACB once mentioned seeing plant or root specimens drying in a Muckleshoot home to be added to HKH's collection.

Letters / Correspondence[79]

Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society [APS] # 986

New York, April 27, 1913

Dear Professor Boas !

I hope you remember that once before I asked you to give me your advice regarding Dr. Haeberlin's Indian boards. [??]

As you hear Dr. Seligman has decided to show them next month. He wants me to suggest the right expert willing to take on the demonstration in New York. - Not only as historical documents will it create a certain interest, but also because of its unique character of imagination.

I send you also the letters of Mrs. Mestor the biologist and would be happy to hear from you.

Yours sincerely Herman Haeberlin
615 W. 143.

N.Y. 27/ 4/ 13

Nov 1 1913 Leipsig at APS <paraphrased>

HKH writes to Boas summarizing their talk at Café Josti in Berlin during the prior summer. While he was encouraged to apply for a fellowship at Columbia, receiving any stipend would depend on his not having a PhD but being a candidate for that degree. So instead of taking his degree that winter, based on his Berlin study of "ornaments of the ancient Pueblos", he would postpone his degree until he had a chance to take it in the US. He was in Leipsig for the winter term to "deal with a certain phase of the social organization of the Pueblo Indians." He wonders if the application can be general instead of specific to ethnology.

Nov 24 1913 NY at APS <paraphrased>

Boas to HKH sending along the blank forms for application, with the stipulation that it has to be in anthropology.

Dec 9 1913 Leipsig at APS <paraphrased>

HKH confirms that a letter of support was send by Prof K Weule, director of the Leipsig Musum of Ethnology, asking that a stipend be included. "It would give me a possibility of attaining an American Ph.D.-degree which, as you know, would be of much greater service to me in my future career in America than a German degree."

Dec 20 1913 NY at APS <paraphrased>

FB asks HKH to send as many endorsements from Professors in Leipzig and Berlin as possible, as well as "state also in what particular work you are engaged and what you want to do here."

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[79] Translations from the German were done by Ulrich Fritzsche M.D., of Seattle WA, and finished on March 10, 2001. As a native German speaker with a medical degree and background, Dr Fritzsche was unusually qualified to undertake this task at my request. He undertook it with his usual enthusiasm, and deserves great thanks.

[HKH goes to Columbia in 1914, takes his PhD, engages in various museum and archaeological research, and then begins fieldwork on Puget Sound.]

Jan 7 1916 NY at APS <paraphrased>

FB writes HKH in DC, giving price estimates from Weber for photographs and pen and ink drawings of baskets for a total of $8. FB indicates "a total expenditure of $75 for Washington specimens".

?? at APS <paraphrased>

HKH writes De Lancey Gill of the BAE (see Appendix I) about "making illustrations for my paper on types of pottery from the Valley of Mexico" using 114 sherds from Cambridge (Ma) and 24 from Philadelphia (Pa). Of the Harvard sherds, 104 have been marked in pencil so their portrayal can be specified in some detail and color.

Sept 12 1916 Chicago in German at APS # 372 A

Chicago, September 12. 1916

Dear Professor Boas,

As you can see I'm now in Chicago. I arrived 5 PM yesterday. I haven't seen Laufer [*] yet, but I'll see him this morning.

I sent to you the letter you had mentioned. I've given your daughter two keys to the two cabinets in the seminar room, where I locked up my manuscripts. It's the second and third cabinet from the window behind the large cabinet. There you'll find everything in case you are interested. I've also given Helen a small package with pieces of broken pottery from Puerto Rico. They are pieces from the jungle and from the cave. Nelson mentioned to me that the texture of the two kinds is different. The pieces from the cave have a dark gray color while those coming from the jungle are red. Maybe you know somebody who can analyze them. That's the only item regarding my Puerto Rico work that needs to be finished. The remaining transcriptions and additions I have finished last week in New York.

Concerning the color plates for the basketry it would be desirable to have at least the following five baskets reproduced in colors:

50 – 2473 (Klickitat)
50 – 1413 same
16 – 8731 Thompson
16 – 4637 same
16 – 5906 Lill [ooet]

In case you would like to add more color plates, I would propose the following ones. I put them in the desirable order:

16 - 4611
16 - 4645
16 - 8835
16 - 5907
16 - 9540

In regards to the rectangular baskets I definitely would prefer the long side to be shown. In case you should reproduce only four baskets in color, I would prefer you chose the larger one of the above mentioned Klickitat baskets, as it is more desirable than the smaller one. Even

though I have the images of both baskets clearly in my head, I don't know at the moment whether 50-2473 or 50-1413 is the larger one.

My address remains: General Delivery, Seattle. I'll leave here tomorrow or the day after. I have asked [Pliny Earle] Goddard [*] to have Sargent's baskets wrapped. Lowdermilk informed me the day before my departure that he could provide me with Eells and Swan, each for $ 1.50. I can have the two books sent west for me. You had recently written to Hodge regarding these books. I don't know whether you had asked him whether he could lend them separately to me, or whether you had just inquired where I could get them. Mr. Liebowitz has informed me that he sent you Phillip's "Totem Tales." The museum wasn't able to provide me with or lend me [Harlan] Smith "Archaeology of Puget Sound." You have but one copy yourself. The reason being that it is published in Holland. It would be easy to get in Leiden. I have taken with me Smith "Cairns of B.C. and Washington" and "Archaeology of the Lower Fraser".

I hope all is very well with you and your dear family. Give my regards to everyone, especially to your wife. Yours sincerely, Herman Haeberlin.

P.S. Aitken's and Mason's Puerto Rico things which I had put out to be drawn are either with Robert or Sabine. Everything is labeled and matches the list I sent you last June.

Sept 18 1916 Seattle in German at APS # 583

September 18, 1916

Dear Professor Boas,

I arrived last evening in Seattle. I have received the two publications by Eells and Swan. Thank you for your efforts. Philipps "Totem Tales" did also get here. You didn't annotate some of the tales. Does that mean they are Salish?

I remained for three days in Chicago, and did get to see a lot of Laufer. He is an extremely sympathetic person. I would like to get to know him better. I'll have the opportunity on my way back. He talked to me about the position now open at the museum, and told me to think about taking it. He asked me not to talk with anyone else about it except with you. The whole thing appears not very promising and desirable. Even Dr. Laufer admitted that he wouldn't recommend the position to a friend. Present conditions at the Chicago Museum seem to be rather unsettled. The trustees insist that no research project can be undertaken until the collections are in the new building, and that may be two or three years down the road. Until then work for museum people will be limited to cataloguing and decorating their display cases. If possible I would like to avoid this exclusively 'museological' work. I would like to work with Dr. Laufer. He gives the impression of being a very stimulating person, but otherwise the whole milieu is not very energizing. I have told Dr. Laufer that I would think about it during the coming weeks. Actually I have already made up my mind not to accept. I do hope to work again next year with you and for you - work far more appealing than cataloguing.

This afternoon I left Seattle for Everett, a town north of Seattle and only a few miles south of the Tulalip Reservation. Tomorrow morning I'll take the boat for the reservation to see what can be done there.

Today I received a letter from [James] Teit [*]. He had some suggestions regarding the Indian villages we are about to visit. I have written to you from Chicago in regards to the color plates. I hope everything is clear. The basket collection in Chicago is good and offers some interesting things. The catalogue is rich in information about design-names. Newcombe

collected them. Is this information still reliable?

Please give my regards to your family and especially to your wife. Yours sincerely, Herman Haeberlin

P.S. My address remains General Delivery, Seattle, Washington

Sept 21 1916 Tulalip in German at APS # 387

Tulalip, Washington, September 21,1916

Dear Professor Boas,

Since yesterday I have settled here on the Tulalip Reservation. My address is simply Tulalip, Washington. I did my first work last evening. I had someone describe to me the s t a ha 'lem' game. What makes it so complicated is the way it is told. A 47 year old man described it to me. He speaks good English and was recommended to me by everyone as the most reliable and intelligent Indian. He also is considered as the most knowledgeable of the old customs and the most energetic in sustaining them. He seems to be very enthusiastic about the idea that the old things be published before they are lost for ever. He doesn't want to have any money for it. When he accepts it he wants it to be seen just as a gift from me. He says he doesn't want any " pay." His attitude embarrassed me somewhat yesterday. He wants to sacrifice as much time for me as possible, but unfortunately he doesn't always have the time, because he has all kinds of work to do for the school. This morning another man will visit with me. He is in his seventies and lives nearby. Again, he also doesn't have much time, because he has much work to do on his fields. Under these circumstances much time is being lost. Also, all Indians live by themselves and in single family units all over the reservation. The school is still the most centrally located. Fortunately there are quite a few Indians houses which can be reached by foot.

I hope all is well with you and your family. Please extend my greetings to your wife. Yours Sincerely, Herman Haeberlin

Sept 25 1916 Tulalip in German at APS # 590

Tulalip, Washington, September 25, 1916

Dear Professor Boas,

It's almost a week I'm on this reservation. I've been quite busy. I've recorded several stories in English. I had two different people tell me about the smet'na'g ceremonial, the boards to which are in the museum. Then I heard quite a bit about games, ghosts, shamans, and many other things. I haven't done much language wise except familiarize myself with phonetics. I could have done so much more if I didn't loose so much time. The big problem is that all the most capable people have all so much work to do. On occasion they are more than willing to work for me, but then I find out that they have to work all day and are only free in the evening. The same goes for the women. I do hope that in time I can come to an arrangement with my informants so that I lose less time.

Racially people are strongly mixed here. However it is considered a Snohomish reservation. Now the old culture has strongly disintegrated. You hardly can find baskets any longer. It's hightime that someone does work here. Many subtleties, I feel, can no longer be noticed. To get many stories is even difficult. The younger people don't speak Snohomish any longer and if they do, not very well. I had no idea to which extent Indian life has come apart.

After learning here as much as possible I shall try to look around other reservations, especially on the former Puyallup reservation. But I will still remain a few weeks on the Tulalip.

Not much can be done any longer, I believe, with school children. The older children don't return any longer.

I hope all is well with you and your family. Greetings to everyone, especially to your wife. Yours Sincerely, Herman Haeberlin

Sept 27 1916 NY at APS <paraphrased>

FB writes HKH at Tulalip, thanking him for letters from Everett and Tulalip showing he has made a "good start." FB forwarded relevant books from his summer retreat on Lake George. The Smithsonian also sent books HKH had tried to get through Lowdermilk. Alfred Kroeber wrote FB asking him to ask HKH to go to San Francisco and Berkeley for Thanksgiving because they are planning a meeting at that time.[80] FB tells HKH he thinks this would "be wise on your part". "I read between the lines of Kroeber's letter that he is thinking of the possibility of a university position for you in California; and I think that is of sufficient importance to justify your going there." HKH met Berhold Laufer at Chicago on his way west and apparently was considering a job, thankless it seems, at the Field Museum.

Oct 7 1916 Tulalip in German at APS # 445

Tulalip, Wash., October 7, 1916

Dear Professor Boas,

I received your much valued letter of September 27, as well as the extract from BAAS for 1902. Philipps "Totem Tales" already had arrived two weeks ago. I thank you for all. The Smithsonian Institution did send me Swan as well as two publications by Eells. The last few days weren't very productive for me. There is an " Indian Fair " going on and no Indian is willing to work for me. They all want to go to the Fair. I'm glad it's all over tomorrow. I'm now already working for 2 1/2 weeks here. During that time I collected quite a bit of ethnographic material about the Snohomish. In addition I have recorded a number of stories in English. Some are quite long. A 'coyote' story is almost 75 pages. I haven't done much in regards to the language. I thought it would be best, first to get some general impression about this culture, and collect as many stories in English as possible, in order to get an idea what the mythology in general may look like.

Obviously I familiarized myself with phonetics, while collecting a mixed vocabulary. Then I also collected a number of "noun-reduplications." I thought I would really get into the language, as soon as I had gotten a general overview of the ethnography and mythology. In time I should be able to judge which informants are best used for language work. For that type of work you definitely look for the most intelligent ones. Finally I bought specimens for $ 46- So far I have 22 pieces, among them several types of baskets, an oar, a mat, a mountain goat blanket, a spindle and similar things. I will buy the other things for Goddard as soon as he sends me the money. In case you should see him, please tell him that he should send the money as soon as possible. In case I should travel to San Francisco next month, I would prefer to send the whole collection before my departure, because I don't know where to leave all these things. When I finally have the funds I can easily buy with the rest of the money.

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[80] After HKH died, Kroeber wrote Edward Sapir, 3 March 1924, that Gladys Reichard had taken on his Boasian mantle: "She is hard and efficient and charmless – the opposite of Haeberlin; but equally saturated with the old man; and Haeberlin's successor, almost, in his devotion" (Golla 1984, 410).

If you think it's a good idea I will travel Thanksgiving to San Francisco. It might be worthwhile. Perhaps Kroeber can make me some kind of offer. As I have written to you already, I don't want to accept the position in Chicago. It doesn't appear very enticing. What it means is two or three years of nothing else but filling up museum display cabinets. On top of that the material is just collected blindly without any scientific data. All these trustees are interested in is to see as many display cabinets as possible being filled. I would feel most unhappy with such a quantitative assessment of scientific work.

The phonetic of the Snohomish language isn't easy. The consonants vary quite a bit. A certain difficulty exists due to the fact that I don't know whether I should distinguish between a *d* and *n* with half-shut nasal opening, or whether it's always one and the same sound. It's the same story naturally with *b* and *m*. One particular sound is new to me. It is a frontal strong spoken with *n* timbre. A voiced *l* doesn't seem to exist. But I'm not quite sure yet.

This summer you had repeatedly asked me to inquire into hunting and fishing privileges. As I understood it you were questioning whether certain families or certain tribes possess the sole right to use certain hunting and fishing grounds. I have repeatedly inquired into this, but always with the same result, not to hear what you seemingly expected to hear. The answers always were: the Snohomish hunted and fished north and south of the Snohomish river, and that all Snohomish families somehow were allowed to hunt and fish in this area. In addition, that the borders between the hunting grounds of different tribes were fluid and undetermined. When I ask then whether an Indian from another tribe, let's say a Lummi, could hunt in the Snohomish territory, I would receive for an answer that he could well do that, if he had friends or relatives. But if he were to be a total stranger, it certainly could cause problems. But my informants thought it very unlikely that a stranger would hunt on Snohomish grounds. Why shouldn't he hunt at home. Their answers are not much to the point. Please let me know immediately what do you mean by 'privileges', and what do you think about their answers.

There is something else I would like to get your opinion about. You once told me that Puget Sound Salish made no imbricated baskets with imbrication. But now I find that the women here for the most part make 'Klickitat' baskets, which means coiled oval baskets with imbrication. Do you think that's a late introduction from the Klickitat and Yakima. I have seen here such baskets, made only 30 or more years ago, by Snohomish women. I don't get to see much of twined baskets. The women say it's not practical any more to make those baskets, because they are too soft for berry picking. In earlier times the twined baskets supposedly were exclusively used to store things at the houses. Please write to me what in your opinion the status is of basket weaving in Puget Sound.

I hope you feeling well. Please give my cordial regards to your wife.
Yours Sincerely,
Herman Haeberlin

Oct 13, 1916 NY at APS <paraphrased>

FB thanks HKH for his letter of Oct 7 about the Indian Fair, which took up everyone's time and must have frustrated him since FB adds, "There is ample opportunity for learning patience on a trip like yours". FB has asked HKH to look into "privileges", a feature of the North Pacific (naming Nootka, Kwakiutl)[81] that characterized elite families. FB was interested if

[81] Now known as Nuchahnuth and Kwakwaka'wakw.

these were held by certain families or by certain ranks, such as a chief. FB also notes that key resource sites in the water, such as fishing banks, were owned and claimed by a means of triangulating off landmarks along the horizon. FB will write to Goddard about money, and Mr Sargent wrote to offer more money in January, presumably for Teit's work. FB is "not surprised to hear that the Snohomish women make imbricated basketry" as Teit had noted the distribution reached Puget Sound and Boas himself saw such baskets about 1890. FB urged HKH to go to Berkeley and forget about any Chicago job because "it is annoying to work for trustees who do not appreciate the scientific character of the work". Still, HKH should have the experience of museum routine. FB and Laufer will talk over Christmas, when the annual meeting is held.

Oct 17 1916 NY at APS <paraphrased>

FB recommends HKH try "to study the personal distribution of designs among the women of Puget Sound". This work would help when he joined Teit. FB was interested in the designs made by each woman, how designs are criticized, and how they are taught to young girls. HKH should also observe the regularity and speed of movement of a expert basket weaver so as to judge the connection between regularity of effort and appearance of the finished work. FB has marked only those stories in Phillips's Totem Tales he could place based on his own work in Puget Sound.

Oct 22 1916 Tulalip in German at APS # 499

Tulalip, Washington, Oct. 22. 1916

Dear Professor Boas,

Frachtenberg [Leo J] and I are working together for almost a week. He wants to work another week with me. I think I have gained quite a bit during his presence. I had great difficulties with phonetics before he came, and it was impossible for me to record any texts. Now, after having worked together almost every day with the language, everything goes much better, and Frachtenberg wants to stay until I'm capable to record texts by myself. In short, I'm very grateful to you for the arrangement of us being able to work together for a while. Unfortunately I have very little to offer to Frachtenberg. He has been working already for three months on the ethnography of the Quilleyute and knows the ethnologic conditions in this area better that I do. But he seems to have an interest in the work on the Tulalip and has no regrets to be here.

I have received your much valued letter of October 17. I will try to learn as much as possible about the special problems in regards to basket weaving, but the conditions for such studies are not very favorable here. Almost no baskets are being made any longer here. The women always say that they don't have time to make such baskets. I haven't heard of any case where a young girl was taught by a woman how to weave baskets. The new baskets are all 'decadent' and are made with a sewing needle. There are only a few old women who still know the design patterns. Women under forty just don't know them any more.

This Tuesday Frachtenberg and I will move to Marysville, a small town on the border of the Tulalip reservation. Conditions are much better there compared to here, where I live. A number of people live there and are easier to reach from Marysville, while here the Indians live far apart from each other. The Indians in Marysville have more free time compared to the ones I've worked with until now.

Please extend my sincere regards to your family.

Yours Sincerely, Herman Haeberlin

My future address: General Delivery, Marysville, Washington.

Oct 29, 1916 Hotel Currie, Marysville at AMNH Anthro Archives <paraphrased>

HKH to PEG [Goddard] about express and collect shipment of the 27th, with list to follow.

Oct 30 1916 ?? [Tulalip] in German Frachtenberg at APS # 531

October 30, 1916

Dear Professor Boas,

Frachtenberg left this Sunday for Portland to see his family. His presence was extremely helpful to me. I'm making good progress with phonetics. Unfortunately I couldn't offer anything in return, but he seemed to be interested in the work here and enjoyed working with me.

Frachtenberg informed you that I'm having trouble with my health, as I have too much sugar. It hit me out of the blue. I never expected such a thing. Shortly after my arrival here the first symptoms appeared. I didn't pay much attention to it until Frachtenberg urged me to consult a doctor. The first advised me to return home, which unsettled me somewhat. The same day Frachtenberg and I went to Seattle and I consulted a doctor there, who confirmed the diagnosis. My blood sugar is very high at 6.6 %. Immediately I had to go on a diet and swallow a lot of medicine. Today I returned to the doctor in Seattle. The sugar is still high, but I don't have any longer the dry thirst, which I had last week. The diabetes also affected my eye sight badly, which was the most unsettling for me. Since I'm sticking to a diet my eye sight is normal again. The doctor said that diabetes often involves the eyes. Staying on a diet is the main thing. Fortunately I can do this very well in Marysville. I couldn't have done it in Tulalip, because there I had to eat whatever I received. I have to travel twice a week to Seattle. At the moment there is no reason why I couldn't continue with my work, even though I don't have all my energy back. Today the doctor was satisfied with my progress, but the sugar was still high. He thinks that my diabetes is not of recent origin, but has been there for a year or more, without me being aware of it.

During last week I collected a number of texts with translations. In the future I will involve myself again more with ethnology.

Hopefully all is very well with you and your dear family. My warmest regards to your wife. Yours Sincerely, Herman Haeberlin.

Nov 1 1916 AMNH Antho Archives <paraphrased>

HKH to PEG enclosing a list of Oct 27 shipment with value of $87.05. [1-47, divided 1-18 = $35.55, 19-39 = 67.30, 40-47 = $87.05]

Nov 3 1916 Marysville in German at APS

Marysville, Washington, November 3, 1916

Dear Professor Boas,

I don't want to bother you with the history of my illness, and I wouldn't have brought it up again if Frachtenberg hadn't mentioned me in his letter to you. Yesterday I saw the doctor again in Seattle. He was generally satisfied with my improvement. The sugar level hasn't really dropped that much, but he feels that in time it will happen. The best sign is that the treatment with the diet is beginning to work: I gained weight during the last week. Also the dry thirst that

had bothered me for weeks is almost gone. This illness had a strange effect on my eyes. The doctor says that's not unusual with diabetes. Shortly after I arrived at Tulalip my eyes became weaker and weaker with frightening speed. First I thought that I was dealing with an increasing nearsightedness. Already during the summer of 1914 a doctor prescribed some glasses for it. Now, on a strict diet, suddenly my eyes have markedly improved. I can see well again with or without glasses. This confirms the doctor in his opinion that I might have had a case of unknown diabetes for a long time, manifesting itself first in my eyes.

I keep now a very strict diet. Luckily I can do this in Marysville. In Tulalip, where I spent the first five weeks, I couldn't have done this. There I had to eat whatever I was given. Marysville borders the same reservation from which I can easily be in Seattle in 2 1/4 hours. I have to be twice weekly in Seattle. I'm being treated by a German doctor who comes across as very trustworthy and who takes my case seriously. Frachtenberg knew him by name.

My work is slowly progressing. In this kind of work so much time is being lost due to lack of punctuality on the Indians' part. Now I'm working with a pair of very old people. They are very difficult to understand but know a lot. Dealing with younger people is a complete waste of time because they don't know anything. On October 27 I sent $ 87 worth of specimens to Goddard. Soon I will send some more. Just recently I received the photographs of the Lillooet and Thompson baskets. These are most likely the photographs [Edward] Sapir [*] sent to you. If in the near future you should write to Sapir please ask him to provide me with an official letter from the Geological Survey, similar to the one I have from Washington D.C. I really don't want to have any troubles in Canada. I would be most grateful for it. Various sources tell me, and I'm glad to hear it, that in general things are going well for you since you returned to New York.

Please give my regards to your family and especially to your wife. My mother informs me that she was very happy about the letter your wife sent to her. Yours Sincerely, Herman Haeberlin

My address is simply Marysville, Washington

Nov 6 1916 ?? in German at APS # 546 [Cf Dr George F Warmburg]

November 6, 1916

Dear Professor Boas,

I just returned from Seattle where I saw again Dr. [George F] Warmburg. He showed me the telegram you sent to him. He also informed me what he told you. I really would like to thank you for this new sign of your kindness and consideration. As I have written to you and as Dr. Warmburg telegraphed, my condition improved as soon as I started to stay on my diet. This improvement mainly benefited my eyes, which had been considerably weakened. So, that's much better. My condition actually was the same today as four days ago when I saw Dr. Warmburg. Unfortunately the sugar level isn't dropping. It's still as high as in the beginning. Dr. Warmburg was less optimistic about that today. He advised me to return Thursday, November 9. In case the sugar still hasn't dropped, he thinks the best might be to return to New York and seek consultation with a specialist. This really is beginning to affect me. All my beautiful plans go up in smoke. The worst part for me is that if I return to New York now I have to tell my parents about it, and right now they have their own worries. On the other hand I don't want to do anything that would be harmful to my health. A full recovery is probably unlikely. Over time I have to learn how to live with my condition, but for an ethnologist it's hardly something to look for.

I work every day with my informants. I have two wonderful old people who make all

kinds of models for me. They are the only ones I could motivate to do this for me. If I were to be in good health now I would look with great confidence at my work. I'm doing quite all right now with phonetics due to the fact that Frachtenberg was here. He was a big help to me. I really enjoyed being with him. The two weeks passed all too fast. The biggest obstacle still remains for me to hear the glottal stops within a word especially if they come before a fortis.

I'm so happy to hear that all in all you doing well. Don't exert yourself too much. I will immediately inform you about the results of my doctor's visit on Thursday, obviously by telegram. Give my regards to your wife.
Yours Sincerely, Herman Haeberlin

Nov 7? 1916 AMNH Anthro Archives
Accession Record for expedition, 1 box 19753, Marysville, Wash.

Nov 10 1916 Marysville in German at APS # 653

Marysville, Washington, November 10, 1916.

Dear Professor Boas,

I just received your much valued letter of November 5, where you asked me to return to New York. First I would like to say that I value your advice more than from anyone else except from my parents. However, permit me that I write to you again before I make the decision whether I should return right now. This is going to be a difficult decision for me. I don't want you to imagine the situation being worse than it really is.

As I have written to you yesterday evening from Everett, my condition has improved further. I have gained weight and the blood sugar stood yesterday afternoon at only 2%. Dr. Warmburg says that falling sugar levels are often associated with other adverse symptoms. But this is presently not the case with me. Twice weekly I travel to Seattle.

When you telegraphed Dr. Warmburg, he suggested not yet to call me back because my condition had improved. Had you already received Dr. Warmburg's answer when you wrote me the letter I just received? I don't want to act precipitously, since it's at all possible that you might have come to a different conclusion because of the telegram and my later letter?

Under the present condition I obviously would prefer being in New York rather than way out here. But so much is at stake. Since my trip to Puerto Rico wasn't a success, I'm afraid I'll never again receive funds for field work, especially if this trip also ends with a fiasco. I'm doing quite all right now with my work. I have a good working relationship with several good informants. There is one more reason why it is so difficult for me to decide at this moment to return. My parents expect that I will stay at least until Christmas. If I leave now they will worry a lot. It is also my deepest wish to stay until Christmas, and that's just barely six weeks.

Don't assume that I'm living out here in the wilderness. Any time of the day it takes me just 2 1/2 hours to be in Seattle. I'm living in a nice small hotel. The owner feeds me only such food that goes along with my diet. In addition I'm exposed to much fresh air which Dr. Warmburg thinks is important. He doesn't see yet any reason for me to leave in view of the falling sugar. If it wasn't for this improvement I wouldn't hesitate one moment and return immediately.

Please give it some more consideration, and don't be upset about me hesitating. If despite this letter you still feel I should return I will do so without hesitation. Please let me know your decision as soon as possible. If I can remain here until Christmas, I will be able to present a very good description of the ethnography of the Snohomish and Snoqualmi. Please let me know

what I should do in regards to Teit and the Chicago baskets. It would be extremely painful for me if I couldn't write any more on this paper about Salish baskets.

I put in more effort into it than in any of my other works. Here I see a wonderful opportunity to clearly demonstrate the methodological relationships of art history to ethnology.

I'm looking forward to your decision. Please give my warmest regards to your wife. Yours Sincerely, Herman Haeberlin

Nov 10 1916 Marysville at AMNH Anthro Archives <paraphrased>

HKH to PEG noting a second box was sent Nov 8th by express, and enclosing a list of accession numbers and prices. [6,48,49,50,79,81,64,85 $9.00, boxing .75 = $9.75]

Nov 16, 1916

Accession Record for expedition, 1 box 1916-82, Marysville, Wash.

Nov 20 1916

Accession Record for expedition, 1 box 1916-82, Marysville, Wash.

Nov 26, 1916 at AMNH Anthro Archives

HKH writes from NYC to PE Goddard "Enclosed find a list of the specimens I sent you in a [third] box on Nov 14."

Dec 14 1916 at AMNH Anthro Archives <paraphrased>

HKH to Clark Wissler [CW], noting of the grant of $250, as $75 for collecting expenses and $175 for specimen purchases. HKH spent $131.30 purchases + $56.38 expenses = $187.58 leaving $62.42

Dec 21 1916 at AMNH Anthro Archives

CW to Dr FA Lucas sending on HKH refund check. "Dr Haeberlin has a traveling fellowship from Columbia University and offered to make some collections for us among the Salish Indians of Washington… As the money was used entirely for the purchase of specimens from Indians, there are no vouchers."

Dec 21 1916 at AMNH Anthro Archives

Dear Dr Wissler,

I beg to acknowledge receipt of check from Dr Haeberlin for $62.42 balance, unexpended, of funds advanced for purchase of specimens.

Cordially, FA Lucas

25th Jany /17 Spences Bridge at APS <paraphrased>

James Teit responds to questions sent by Boas, but suggests that the local band only has 5-6 women making baskets and only one does it constantly. Basketry was mostly done until April, and Spuzzum would be a better place for the study, with comparative work at Lytton and Nicola Valley. He has also heard from Dr HKH.

Sept 5 1917 Chicago in German at APS

Chicago, September 5, 1917

Dear Professor Boas,

I just arrived in Chicago. Your telegram surprised me somewhat, I hadn't thought about such an offer. I received it after I had left Marysville and while I was working with a Squali woman on the Nisqualli Reservation. Your letter reached me only in Denver, where last Sunday and Labor Day I spent with some old acquaintances from Leipzig. My round trip ticket led me via Union Pacific through Denver. Your letter arrived late because it had been addressed to Marysville. I didn't wait any longer for it in Tacoma because I had already decided that I wouldn't accept Kroeber's offer [??]. Even though I wouldn't have minded to be together with Kroeber and Lowie many reasons spoke against it. It wouldn't be the right thing to study right now a Californian tribe. The proper thing to do is to concentrate on my Salish things and do a thorough comparative analysis of Snohomish and Squalli tribes with other North Pacific tribes. Naturally for such a comparative analysis the place is New York with you. Also I feel that next year's upcoming connection with the NY Museum is important, especially since I hope to get the Pawnee project[82] next spring. If I had in mind to acquire permanent employment in America, the Californian offer might be desirable. But you know what my intentions are. Under these circumstances I think a closer affiliation with the New York Museum might be more helpful to me for the future than a position at Berkeley. I really appreciate your friendly advice. My decision is completely independent because I made it right then when your telegram arrived. I'm wondering why I haven't heard a word from Kroeber himself.

Up to now I have spent exactly $ 514. 85 (without specimens).[83] We figured $ 600.00- That leaves me with $ 85.15. It has to cover my stay in Chicago, the trip to New York from here (not included in my round trip) and possibly a few days in Ottawa. If you agree I would like to stay for 10 days in Chicago. I think that's about what you had in mind. I would like to study the art collection, especially [George] Dorsey's things from the Puget Sound area, and if possible to see a bit of Laufer. He's supposed to be so busy. It might not come to that. Teit promised to send me his field notes on basketry at the end of the month. Please let me know as soon as possible whether I could have a look at the art collection in Ottawa before I return to New York. I would also like to know whether I can have photographs made of specimens in Chicago I can use for my Snohomish ethnography.

All in all I'm satisfied with the results of my trip. I hope that you'll agree. I'm happy that I left again this summer and nothing interfered with it.

With warmest regards to you and your family I remain sincerely,
Herman Haeberlin

Sept 12 1917 Chicago in German at APS

Chicago, Ill. September 12, 1917

Dear Professor Boas,

Many thanks for your [birthday] congratulations. I was delighted to receive your letter and the cards from your family. I accept with gratitude your invitation to come for a few days to Lake George. I decided to visit you before I depart for Ottawa. I feel it's important to discuss a few points about basketry with you before I study the collection in Ottawa. I had to promise my

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[82] Pawnee project may refer to follow-up work after George Dorsey left the Field Museum in 1915. He had done Pawnee and comparative Caddoan studies, working with Skiri speakers James Murie and Roaming Scout, until 1907.

[83] These funds for a fellowship devoted to travel, museum research, and fieldwork were provided by Howard Sargent.

relatives in Akron that I would spend coming Sunday with them. Thus I will leave here Saturday. On Monday I shall leave Akron and Tuesday morning (September 18) arrive at yours. The boat arrives at 10:50 in Bolton. Would you please be so kind to have someone call Meranville that he sends a car to the boat.

I made very good use of my time in Chicago. Dr. Laufer is extremely kind and gives me plenty of his time. There is a lot we have to discuss. My stay in Chicago is not expensive at all. I'm looking forward to see you and your family soon. Best regards, Herman Haeberlin.

Nov ? 1917
Ye Old Curiosity Shop
Colman Dock
Seattle, Wash
This store has an old cedar-bark skirt from the Fort Madison Reservation. It was offered to me for $8. I also saw a smelt-rake in this store. [unsigned HKH]

Nov 12 1917 <paraphrased>

PE Goddard writes Ye Old Curiosity Shop, offering to buy for $8 a cedar bark skirt seen there by Dr HK Haeberlin. [This rain cape has painted whales facing each other]

Ye Old Curiosity Shop, on the Colman Dock Front, JE Standley, Prop; EV Standley, Mgr., responded with a carefully handprinted statement

DRESS MADE OF WOOD INDIANS OF PUGET SOUND COUNTRY MADE CRUDE SKIRTS AND BLANKETS OUT OF BEATEN CEDAR BARK OR SKIN OF THE TREE. THIS SKIRT WAS SECURED AT "Old Man's house," THE TOTEM POLE HOUSE AT PORT MADISON THE HOME OF CHIEF SEATTLE AND THE DRESS WAS CLAIMED AS THE ONE ANGELINE WORE.

Jan 9th 1918 Cambridge at APS <paraphrased>

HKH to Boas about his getting stronger but needing a long convalescence. He is discouraged to upset the plans of both FB and himself with "so many hot irons I have in the fire". He has not told his parents and asks advice from FB. HKH dictated this letter to his nurse, V Gustafson.

Jan 11 1918 NY at APS <paraphrased>

FB to HKH at home of Mr P Peaselee, 64 Kirkland St, Cambridge, Massachusetts. FB is exceedingly glad at the progress of HKH and asks him not to worry. He must tell his parents he is sick. FB will send his own letter to them, saying he has been to visit. HKH's classes have been sent to the museum by Goldenweiser and Boas, though "I presume they will be glad when they have you back."

Jan 15 1918 Cambridge in German at APS

Cambridge, Mass
64 Kirkland Str.
Jan 15, 1918

Dear Professor Boas,

I'm most thankful for your friendly letter! I have written to my parents about my illness following your friendly advice. I would be much obliged if you would also tell them how this came about. You know the address:

c/o Mr. W. Knipers
Sophia Plein 2
Amsterdam

I'm getting better everyday. But the slow progress is so discouraging. I still feel very weak, and I would like to do something but I'm just not ready yet.

Yours sincerely HH

P.S. Please be optimistic when you write to my parents

Jan 19 1918 Cambridge in German at APS

Cambridge, Mass. Jan 19, 1918
64 Kirkland Str.

Dear Professor Boas,

I want to thank you belatedly from the bottom of my heart for having visited me during my illness. It was very kind of you. At the time I have struggled with hands and feet against it, but no one really bothered to ask for my opinion. I was very surprised when I saw you.

I'm doing as well as expected, at least that's what the doctor says. For me things are progressing so slowly. I still have the nurse. The worst of all, my legs are still so wobbled. I just don't know what to do with these silly beasts. As soon as I can walk again I shall return to New York. I'm anxious to see you again.

In the meantime the longing for my parents has gotten stronger than ever. I have discussed it with my doctor. He also feels I should make every effort to see them. One just can't continue living in boarding houses and reconvalescent homes. So if at all possible, I hope to take off at the end of this term.

What's the status of Teit's material? Has it finally arrived?

Please give my most heartfelt regards to your family. Yours sincerely HH

Jan 22 1918 at APS <paraphrased>

FB asks HKH not to be impatient. Teit has sent two bundles "but very little of what we want." Frachtenberg is finally going to be confronted with his accusers? because a senator made Walcott give in.[84] Dr Wolf sends greetings from a detention camp in Canada.

Jan 23 1918 Cambridge in German at APS

Cambridge, Mass. Jan 23, 1918
64 Kirkland Str.

Dear Professor Boas,

Many thanks for your letter of January 22! My health has not progressed at all during the last week. My strength just doesn't want to come back. For that reason we consulted a specialist yesterday. He insists that I'm in relative good condition. He follows a different principle. Instead of feeding me he systematically starves me to determine accurately how many carbohydrates and fat etc. I can tolerate. My diet has to be strictly regulated. The crux of the matter is that Dwyer never did this. He appeared to overlook completely the complexity of the

[84] The BAE fired Leo Frachtenberg on 1 October 1917 for being Austrian-born, Jewish, and Boasian. Boas himself was condemned by Wasp American Anthropologists in December 1919 (Golla 1984,262 note 1).

situation.

I have to say that often I get so depressed. To lay around with nothing to do except to hunt after crickets is unbearable. My sole consolation is that may be this May or June I can go to Europe. My doctor strongly advised me to do so. I would be very grateful if you could assist me with this.

I'm happy to hear that Dr. Wolfe is the same one I had in mind. I would love to correspond with him. Please extend my regards to him. HH

Jan 25 1918 at APS <paraphrased>

FB urges HKH to take proper care of his diet and avoid worrying. "Amuse yourself with reading, and don't think of your work, which can wait." Once his health improves, they will quickly get him a pass from DC.

Feb 4, 1918 Cambridge in German at APS

Cambridge, Mass. February 4, 1918

Dear Professor Boas,

I would be very happy to hear something from you. For the past 2 weeks I'm undergoing Allen's starvation diet.[85] Obviously I'm very weak. On occasion I'm close to despair, and I doubt whether I'll ever leave this sick bed. Two things I dread the most, an endless and useless protracted illness, and second that I will never see my parents again. Do you think I will get a passport and do you hear occasionally from Mr. Leach? The doctor isn't without hope, on the contrary, but you know how doctors are. Please be so kind and write to me. HH

March 12 1918 Amsterdam at APS <paraphrased>

Herman senior (the father) thanks FB for his report on his son's condition, sending FB $300 in February to help his son and the same amount in March. Their wives send greetings.

March 27 1918 Amsterdam at APS <paraphrased>

FB wrote Herman senior on the 17th. The parents heard the sad news first from Laufer, then "our folks in Akron", Miss Peaslee and Miss Gustavson, and Mrs Boas. "Fate was cruel to us," after his mother's work and love made a man of him, in the fullest sense of the word. Miss Peaslee [apparently Herman's fiancé] told the parents HKH had been homesick and depressed for much of the past year, immersing himself in hard work. After he left Germany in 1914, he wrote his mother twice a week. They had a cheerful tone until spring of 1917, and always mentioned FB and his family members. HKH was to return home in 1915 but that seemed unwise. When "diabetes first attacked him", he made a full report to his mother. His liberal diet and return to the field suggested all was well. In spring 1917 he planned to work at Leyden University, but conditions were getting worse in Europe. Physicians they consulted advised

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[85] Frederick Madison Allen's methods seem to have been universally accepted in medical schools and among up-to-date practitioners as the best therapy available at the time. James Havens Jr. was the first person in the United States to receive insulin on May 21, 1922. Decades after the discovery of insulin, doctors were reminded of the pre-insulin diabetics when they saw the emaciated pictures of the survivors of Belsen and Buchenwald, according to Michael Bliss, "The Discovery of Insulin", consulted by Dr Ulrich Fritzsche, the translator of the HKH letters.

HKH to stay in the US. In the spring of 1918, HKH planned to be in Stockholm and his parents made no objection. In the fall of 1917, the Akron relatives saw HKH and reported him "the perfect picture of health". The parents are greatly troubled that HKH did not report to them as fully about his health as he did to those in the US. FB and family are greatly thanked for every kindness, with a request to make sure that all expenses are settled and they make up for anything outstanding.

May 28th 1918 Amsterdam hand written, at APS <paraphrased>

Herman senior offers his US investments ($10,000) to fund, with its annual interest, the Herman Haeberlin Research Fellowship in anthropology, irrespective of nationality or religious faith as that the name of "our poor boy" will live on.

July 8, 1918 Lake George ?? at APS <paraphrased>

FB assures Herman senior that son HKH had mood swings but was not overly depressed, knowing "the only salvation is in work in order to distract our thought from the troubles that beset us on all sides". HKH was always truthful, never suspecting the worst. He returned to Puget Sound with a stricter diet but seemed well. After his return, his physician was drafted so he had to change doctors as his condition worsened. FB wanted HKH to spend Christmas with his family, but instead he went to Cambridge to be with the Peeslees and there his final illness overtook him. FB received the money send by the father and used it to pay HKH's board bill and nurse of about $170. All the rest of the money he sent on to the Kuno Feddersons in Akron, who had paid all the other expenses.

> Your son completed a very large amount of work in the few years that were given to him for productive work. Comparatively speaking, little of it has been printed, and I have been trying since that time to have his manuscripts completed and published. About two weeks ago a long paper of his on the results of his journey to Puget Sound appeared. I have sent you a copy, and shall send another one when I get back to New York, because printed matter is so often lost nowadays. I also prepared another paper of his on Mexican pottery, and one on certain customs of the Indians of Puget Sound, which I expect will appear during the summer and fall; but besides this there are a number of larger pieces of work which will require time to complete. The book on one group of western tribes, in the preparation of which he assisted me and to which he write [wrote] an important chapter, will probably not appear until a couple of years hence. Another one on basketry of British Columbia was well advanced, and I hope will be finished during the coming winter. I shall, of course, see to it that you receive copies of all these as they appear.
>
> I feel his death as a great personal loss …

July 22, 1918 NY at APS <paraphrased>

FB writes Herman senior to follow up on his letters of April and June, much touched by the decision to set up a fellowship to commemorate HKH. He asks that it be at Columbia because of its connection to HKH and the prospect that it "will remain a center of anthropological activity". Further, the collections made by HKH reside at AMNH "and the two support each other. From this point of view, it seems to my mind that Columbia would be a perfectly safe place in which adequate returns of such a foundation might be expected." The fellowship should depend on having "a certain definite research task" that should be published.

August 7 1918 Lake George ?? at APS <paraphrased>

FB sends another copy of the July 22 letter and reports on discussions, without using names or amounts, with "a few other anthropologists of good judgement" to set up the fellowship for "productive work" that results in publication. A large fund at Columbia pays the salary of a Professor of American Archaeology, but a few hundred dollars is left over every year that Boas wants to apply to a publications fund, augmented with sales. Any collections made would go to AMNH "to express the wish that the fellowship may draw together more closely the anthropological work of different institutions". Making it the exclusive means of support would guard against redirecting the fund "for the support of work of older men". Instead it should support young men like HKH. These remarks, of course, are only suggestions and the parents can take any direction they desire. Over the years, HKH had mood swings, but FB saw him every day and saw no cause for alarm. His parents are not to reproach themselves for what had to do with the state of the world at war.

October 19th 1918 Amsterdam at APS <paraphrased>

Herman senior lists all the FB letters he has received. The parents are confirmed in turning over their $10,000 US investments to fund a Herman Haeberlin Research Fellowship at an American institution entirely in the judgment of FB. The investment consists of US insurance policies from 15-34 years old. The Feddersons paid the premiums during the war years, and the remainder of the funds will be secured to him. Herman senior hopes to visit the US to set all this up. Meanwhile he asks FB to have an enabling document drawn up. Herman senior has had letters of assignment deposited in the safe at his bank.

Oct 6 1919 at APS <paraphrased>

FB has received the Dusseldorf address of Herman senior from Fedderson in Akron. He includes another HKH paper and a copy of the HKH obituary read at the annual meeting in later published. The wives have exchanged letters of deep feeling.

Nov 2 1919 Dusseldorf in German at APS # 863

Duesseldorf , November 2, 1919

Dear Professor,

I received your letters, dated July 11 and October 6, within three weeks after they were mailed off. The printed material has yet to reach me. Throughout the war years I did not receive any such material, which I really missed. My wife received a letter from your wife. She wrote three times. Her last letter probably is on its way. I also received your letters, dated July 8, 22, and August 7, 1918, which I answered from here, and on occasion, while here in Amsterdam. It appears that everything from the States with the exception of printed matter arrived.

I have repeatedly and in great detail written to my brother-in-law Fedderson about the difficulties my wife and I have to face regards a possible re-entry into the United States. I assume he has informed you about this. I asked Fedderson to do this, since the main purpose of our trip will be to settle the affairs of our late son Herman. In order to get a passport I visited the American consulate in Koblenz, the Spanish general consul in Berlin, and the American consulate in Holland. In De Haag one insisted that I should live first for some time in Holland, because the peace treaty hasn't been ratified in Washington. Present and somewhat urgent

business affairs however do not allow me to do this. Everywhere I'm being told to await ratification, because then the American consulate would resume its service in Germany. As far as we can tell that might be still a long time away. This is especially hard on my poor wife. She'll rest only when she can see and talk to everyone who knew our son in the USA, and can report to her details about the last year of his life. Things he couldn't write directly to us during the war years.

I think that it might be possible with your kind assistance to get the permission in Washington to finally reach this goal and enter the States. The reasons I feel that this might be possible, I heard of cases where through the good services of distinguished American citizens the permission to enter the States was given by the general consulate in Amsterdam. I have no doubts that you will be helpful to me in this matter, assuming you are in a position to do so and expect some success to come out of it. In case you feel you are in a position to do something, I have written a short summary of my present and personal situation. I have not included any explanatory documents, which at present might not be safe to sent.

In the spring of 1883 I emigrated to the United States, after finishing an academic - technical education. I received my US citizenship in 1888. My papers were issued February 6, 1888 by probate judge C. R. Grant, Akron, Ohio. I married my wife, born Alma Fedderson, in 1885. My two children, Elsa and Herman, were born 1886 and 1890 in Akron. In December of 1906 I left Akron for Duesseldorf, where I entered into the service of large machine producing factory. My return to Germany was mainly guided by my desire to give my children a superb scientific education. My daughter studied music. You know about my son. I was neither in Germany nor in America politically active.

Since this spring I work as a consultant engineer in Duesseldorf, and as such have a large practice. During the war I worked mainly for a large Dutch company, which also did business in Dutch East India. I'm still working for this company as an expert in large purchases for Holland and its colonies.

I'm well aware that it would have been my patriotic duty to return at the beginning of the war to the States. However, due to the fact that my daughter was married to a German on the battlefield, I preferred staying here. I don't think anyone can blame me for this. That's why I'm asking only for a three months' stay. I don't want to separate from the only child left.

Dear Sir, let me assure you in advance of my deepest gratitude in case you can be of any help. I will cease any further steps in regards to a passport until I hear from you.

HH sen.

Nov 5 1919 NY at APS <paraphrased>

FB sends 10 copies of the obituary, along with a paper HKH finished and FB had published.

Nov 25 1919 NY at APS <paraphrased>

FB will ask friends of influence for help and advice on getting passports for the parents into the US. He is anxious to meet in person to discuss plans for the memorial fellowship. The wives had written.

Nov 29 1919 Dusseldorf at APS <paraphrased>

The US reprints have arrived and the couple is touched by the memoriam words. The father sends a reprint of HKH's first publication, "Das Flachernornament in der Keramick der

alten Pueblo Kultur" [Feather Designs on Ancient Pueblo Pottery]. Going through the list of publications, Herman senior mentioned what he does and does not have, hoping that FB can complete the set.

Dec 11 1919 NY at APS <paraphrased>

FB regrets enclosing an "unsatisfactory reply" from the State department, despite the best efforts of a lady [EC Parsons] he asked to help.[86] FB is writing the Feddersons about permission for a visit by HKH mother. All of these difficulties will go away once peace is declared, and the parents can come together.

Dec 19 1919 NY at APS <paraphrased>

FB responds to letter of Nov 29 with regret. Fedderson has confirmed that HKH's mother was born abroad. FB hopes conditions will improve in January. He is glad that the first paper by HKH was indeed printed in the Baessler Archives, though FB has not seen any copies of the journal since 1914. He will assemble and send copies of all of the published works of HKH.

Sept 12 1921 Dusseldorf in German at APS # 327

Duesseldorf, September 12, 1921

Dear Professor,

I still owe you an answer to your last letter of November 22. I'm grateful for your advice to make payments now for publication of my late son's papers. I assume you had the printing of his papers in German scientific journals in mind. If you would be so kind as to provide me with details, because I hope to be able to pay for it from my own income, assuming there are no unforeseen circumstances such as the requirement of very large sums. This way it might be possible to keep the main fund intact.

Please give my regards to your wife and daughter HH sen.

Oct 18, 1921 NY at APS <paraphrased>

FB went to New Mexico as soon as he arrived from Europe. HKH father sent a letter of Sept 12th. FB has asked the help of Prof John Bassett Moore in getting the parents to the US. While plans continued for the fellowship, the parents were willing to produce money to defray the publication of some of their son's work in Germany, as discussed with Prof Von den Steinen in Berlin. He ends with greetings from his wife and daughter.

Sept 23 1924 Dusseldorf in German at APS # 349

Duesseldorf, September 23, 1924

Dear Professor,

Your friendly letter of September 4 was sent after us to Switzerland, where I've been staying for five weeks with my wife.

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[86] The connection to Elsie Clews Parson is confirmed in an inscription of a typed page labeled Notes in re Mr H Haeberlin. Handwritten in four lines are "Return to/ Mrs. Herbert Parsons/ 7 East 76/ New York City". When Herman senior and family returned to Germany in 1906 he again became a German citizen. "The parents are exceedingly anxious to come to the US, where the wife's brother and mother live in Akron".

Many thanks for the information regarding Herman's work. I will heed your advice and contact Dr. Ackerman in Berlin. You know that in the meantime Dr. Danzel received a leading position at the Voelkermuseum in Hamburg. He refused any assistance, but wrote at the same time that you knew of a young German anthropologist, very industrious, who could be of help. He does not give his address. That's why I ask you to give it to me.

We all are in good health, but business wise things are still bad. We haven't felt yet any benefits of the Dawes plan.[87] Personally I believe with many others that in the long run nothing good will come out of it. The productivity of this totally impoverished land appears to be greatly exaggerated.

Our long planned trip to America had to be put on hold because under the present conditions we could not have secured our flat until our return. We hope that this might be possible this coming year, as we also had to postpone seeing again our brother-in-law Kuno Feddersen.

My wife and I regretted very much that we couldn't greet you and your family here in Germany. Probably you were too busy with all the work at the congress. My wife extends her greetings and I close with my hope that in the not too distant future there will be an opportunity to meet again. HH sen.

Dec 5 1924 NY at APS <paraphrased>

FB recommends that Mr Erich Schmidt receive the HKH Fellowship as successor to Dr Danzel.[88] "He is an earnest student and I feel sure that he will make good. At the present time he is very much handicapped by lack of means."

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[87] Charles Gates Dawes had drawn up a plan which temporarily solved the problems of Germany's inability to pay war reparations by providing a reorganization of German finances through loans from mainly U.S. private investors. [UF]

[88] With funding from Mrs William Boyce Thompson, Schmidt (1928) surveyed the Gila-Salt region of Arizona in 1927.

Appendix H: Insulin[89]

The importance of insulin for saving the life of diabetics was discovered by Canadians. After being rushed through University of Toronto medical school and service in WWI, Frederick Banting, an orthopedic surgeon with few patients, began teaching physiology at the University of Western Ontario to support himself. Though he was not a specialist, he became intrigued with diabetes, which was a fatal disease at that time. Symptoms were rapid weight loss, excessive fluid output, constant thirst, and increasing exhaustion. The usual treatment was a near-starvation diet and rest.

Prior research in Germany had shown a link with the pancreas. In the 1860s, Paul Langerhans had shown that the inner cells of the this organ, since known as islets of Landerhans, secrete directly into the blood stream. In 1888, [] Naunyn found the outer cells sent three enzymes (trypsin, amnylopsin, lipase) through ducts. Cutting the ducts did not produce obvious medical results, but removing the entire pancreas resulted in diabetes. Thus the connection was made between the illness and the inner cells. Trying to work with the whole pancreas was futile because the outer digestive juices destroyed whatever was provided by the inner cells.

The ducts kept these secretions apart. Banting decided to tie off the ducts, let the enzymes dissolve the outer cells and then extract the product of the inner ones. Though this had been tried before, the researchers had waited too long to remove the pancreas. The outer fluids had eliminated the inner one.

To find a proper laboratory, Banting had to petition Dr John JR Macleod, a Scots specialist in carbohydrate metabolism and Physiologist at the University of Toronto. Macleod turned him down three times, then set a strict two month deadline for the use of a lab while he was abroad. Charles Best, an undergraduate served as assistant. They experimented on ten dogs. The first surgery was a failure because they used gut to tieoff the ducts. For the second attempt, they used silk and the dogs developed diabetes. Extracting fluid from the inner cells of the pancreases of the other dogs, they were able to keep one of them alive for some time. The difficulty was the minute amount of fluid produced by each animal.

Attempts to revive children dying of diabetes showed promise but there was never enough fluid. Finally, a fellow physician Joseph Gilchrist came down with diabetes and offered to serve as their test case. As an MD, Gilchrist kept a full record of his own symptoms and reactions, while Banting and Best researched what they started to call “isletsin.” Macleod insisted on using its earlier name of insulin.

In 1923, three related events occurred. The Nobel Prize in Medicine was awarded for insulin, but the twin discoverers cited were Banting and Macleod. Banting, to his credit, split his prize money with Best. The Banting and Best Department of Medical Research was founded at the University of Toronto, headed by Banting. Commercial production of insulin began using cattle pancreases from slaughter houses.

Macleod, who died in 1935, stayed at Toronto until he returned to Scotland in 1928. In time, Best replaced him as Professor of Physiology. Banting was killed in a plane crash on 21 February 1941.

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[89] Ruth Fox, Milestones of Medicine, 7 The Discovery of Insulin, 1950, 185-221.

Appendix I: Brief Biographies

These brief biographies of scholars mentioned in the letters and career of HKH include, where possible, the volume and page of a death notice or obituary in the American Anthropologist (AA).

Arthur Ballard (1876-1962) was of an old pioneer family involved in the development of Auburn and of the Ballard neighborhood of Seattle. He learned the native language of Puget Sound as a child and sustained a lifelong interest in the native Lushootseed peoples, especially at Muckleshoot.

Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE) was the US government office charged with the collection and publication of massive volumes (in drab green covers) concerned with the native peoples of North America. Founded in 1879 and long directed by John Wesley Powell, it was staffed by dedicated amateurs like James Mooney, by the linguist JP Harrington (below), by natives like JNB Hewitt and Francis LaFleshe, by scientists who had shifted their focus, and by trained Boasians like John Swanton and TT Waterman (below). Before he was ostracized for being a German and a Jew, Boas had a hand in some of its major projects and publications.

Franz Boas (1858 - 1942) trained as a physicist in German but changed to native peoples after time in the Canadian Arctic, and especially the Northwest Coast. After working at the Field Museum in Chicago and AMNH in New York City, directing the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, he established academic anthropology at Columbia University, where he recruited Haeberlin from Germany. He was ousted from both museums under painful circumstances beyond his own control. AA 45/3/2

George A Dorsey (1868 - 1931) took a degree at Harvard, then was based at the Field Museum until he left to become a popular writer on anthropological subjects. His comparative work on Caddoans that he put aside in 1907 and Dorsey left the Field Museum and academic concerns in 1915. AA 33/306, 314

Myron Eells (1843 - 1907), of an early missionary family, was long based on Hood Canal among the Twana people resettled on the Skokomish Reservation. His brother Edwin Eells was the federal Indian Agent during some of this time.

George Gibbs (1815 - 1873) was from a prominent Northeast family and spent eleven years in the Northwest (1849-61). With a law degree from Harvard, he worked in the customs office at Astoria, Oregon, then joined the California Gold Rush. He served on treaty commissions in Oregon, California, and Washington, as well as the Canadian boundary survey. After he returned East, he oversaw the indemnity payment for Fort Nisqually. He lived in DC, NY City, and New Haven, intending to write up the extensive materials on native languages and ethnography he had assembled during fieldwork in the West and study in the Smithsonian archives.

Pliny Earle Goddard (1869 - 1928), after a Quaker education and missionary work among the Hupa of northern California, turned to anthropology and was at the AMNH from 19xx until his death. While his invalid wife and children lived in Connecticut, he had a long term relationship with Gladys Reichard (1893 - 1955). She was from a Pennsylvania Dutch family, and taught at Barnard College, the female side of Columbia. AA 31/1

De Lancey Gill (-) BAE

Erna Gunther (1896 - 1982) was Alsatian, a mining district fought over by France and Germany. In consequence, her family was bilingual in German and French, as well as fluent in English. She took her BA at Barnard in 1919 and was recruited by Boas for graduate work. She and Leslie Spier had a legal contract instead of a marriage license. Leslie was hired to replace Waterman at UW, but disliked the rain. He joined the faculty at the University of Oklahoma, while Erna worked in New York City on a study of Southwestern folklore. In 1927, both were to return to the museum at UW in Seattle, but only Leslie had the academic job. When he took leave for fieldwork in the Pacific, Erna replaced him and stayed on permanently until she was made unwelcome when the new Burke Museum was build in 1964. She received the Haeberlin notebooks just after he died to extract and publish ethnography and folklore. AA 86/394

John Peabody Harrington (1884-1961) was an eccentric genius of languages. The first academicly trained anthropologist to teach at UW, he reported (deposition, Alcea Band of Tillamooks, p202) “In 1910, I was an instructor at summer school at the UW, and during that summer and fall I was at Seattle, and I have done a large amount of field work on the coast before and since 1910.” A public lecture he gave inspired Arthur Ballard to pursue his own interest in local fieldwork.

Morris Ketchum Jesup (1828 - 1908) as President of AMNH (1880-1906) funded a massive comparative study on both sides of the North Pacific under the direction of Franz Boas, but when it made no grand discovery or conclusion, always anathema to Boasians, there was a falling out that resulted in Boas’s move to Columbia University. AA 10/171

Berthold Laufer (1874 - 1934) was born in Cologne, took his PhD in Oriental Studies at Leipsig in 1897, and was at AMNH (1903-6) and Columbia (1905-7), before settling at the Field in Chicago (1907-34). At his death, his library was divided between two private Chicago libraries, of which only the Newberry devoted to the Humanities survives. AA 36/637, 38/101

Charles Newcombe (1849 - 1924) trained as an MD, but devoted his life to building up the collections at what is now the Royal Provincial Museum in Victoria, BC. AA 27/352

Elsie Clews Parsons (1975 - 1941) was from a wealthy New York City family, involved in banking and politics. She took graduate degrees and funded substantial fieldwork throughout the Southwest, as well as Mexico and the Caribbean. AA 45/244

George Foster Peabody (-) appears as the donor of many of the Northwest baskets at AMNH. Correspondence by Franz Boas shows that Peabody provided $5000 at the request of Mrs FN Doubleday to Morris K Jesup and Frederick Ward Putnam at AMNH to purchase the store of CT

Briggs in San Francisco. "They asked $6000 for it, but made $1000 a personal donation." On 1 Nov 1901, FB wrote Briggs to ship the 400 baskets "by the Gulf route, Southern Pacific" to AMNH, insured at full value.

Frederick Ward Putnam (1839 - 1915) trained in zoology under Louis Agassiz, but after 1875 he devoted his energies to developing anthropology. Becoming professor at Harvard in 1886, he organized exhibits for the 1894 Chicago World Fair, American Museum of Natural History, and 1903 Berkeley museum. Despite his Ivy League ties, he strongly supported Boas. AA 17/712

Helen Heffron Roberts (1888 - 1985) studied music in Chicago, then visited the Southwest, became interested in the Pueblos and studied with Boas (1916-19) for an MA, did fieldwork in Jamaica, the Southwest, California, and Hawaii. She worked at Yale (1914-36), publishing a study of music regions of Native North America before failing eyesight limited her activities. She often transcribed, notated, and analyzed the work of others, begun when Boas gave her the Haeberlin recordings, but she also worked beside other fieldworkers, such as the secretive JP Harrington of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

Roaming Scout (1845? - 1916) a Skiri Pawnee priest began in 1906 to dictate texts to George Dorsey and James Murie, another Skiri; their on-going analysis involved Boas, then at AMNH, pioneer ethnomusicologist Erich von Hornbostel, and others until it was all put aside in 1907.

Edward Sapir (1884 - 1939) was a brilliant linguist who devoted himself to native languages of the Americas. He held influential positions at the National Museum of Canada in Ottawa, and the universities of Chicago and Yale. AA 41/465

James Alexander Teit (1864 - 1922) was born in the Shetlands, moved to Spence's Bridge among the Thompsons in BC, where he married native women, and, after 1895, was encouraged by Franz Boas to undertake original research. He was particularly concerned to protect tribal rights. AA 24/490

Dorr Francis Tozzer (1843-1926), See Appendix K.

Thomas Talbot Waterman (1885 - 1936) was the first full time anthropologist at the University of Washington, arriving after JP Harrington, in the same year Haeberlin died; see his full biography in Appendix J. AA 38/532, 39/527

James Wickersham (1857 - 1939). See Appendix L.

Clark Wissler (1870 - 1947) devoted his career to the Plains and was long based at AMNH. AA 50/292, 51/527

Charles Gabriel Seligman (1873 - 1940) AA 43/437

James Murie (1862 - 1921), half Skiri by birth, life-long student of Pawnee culture. AA 23/530

Appendix J: Thomas Talbot Waterman (1885-1936)

Waterman was one of the giants pioneering the ethnography, especially of places and abodes, of the Pacific Coast from Alaska to California. When he died in Honolulu on 6 Jan 1936, he was eulogized as a "vivid figure" and "great teacher," though his fieldwork, especially his ethno-geography, is what has stood the test of time. For both Puget Sound and northern California, he carefully plotted place names, described the major rituals localized within that terrain, and traced the regional distribution of house types and other artifacts of human manufacture.

Born the youngest of ten on 23 April 1885 in Hamilton, Missouri, TTW was the son of John Hayes Waterman, an Episcopal priest, and Catherine Shields Church, of Mississippi. His childhood was spent mostly in California, usually in Fresno. When his older brothers avoided holy orders, Thomas took up this family obligation and graduated from the U of California in 1907 with a major in Hebrew. He had taken one course in experimental phonetics with Pliny Earle Goddard, himself an Episcopal clergyman who switched from being the missionary along the Klamath River to becoming its ethnographer. In time Goddard joined the staff of the American Museum of Natural History in New York, where he became known as a comparative Athapaskanist, and closely collaborated with Gladys Reichard of Barnard College, who was from a Pennsylvania Dutch family.

Waterman went along with Goddard on at least one fieldtrip to record materials from Hupa (California Athapaskan) and, in short order, resolved to switch from the study of divinity to anthropology. He entered Columbia University to study with Franz Boas in 1909-10, finishing his PhD in 1913 on "the explanatory element" in tribal stories. His was one of three interrelated dissertations probing major themes in Americanist folklore. Another was "the test theme" by Robert H Lowie (1908).

His earliest fieldwork was in southern California among Diegeño and other Mission Indians (1908), then he shifted back to the Klamath River in the far north of that state. There he mapped Yurok places and later situated the rites at the Kepel Fish Dam to renew their world. In 1911 his mechanical recording of Northern Paiute speech was a first. Coming to Seattle, he visited throughout the Olympic Peninsula and Puget Sound, using $200 set aside in the summer of 1918 for an ethnographic survey of the state. When such funding ended, with a core group of enthusiastic students, his UW classes plotted the distribution of houses and canoes along the West Coast. His genuine fondness for local Lushootseed elders encouraged them to describe the Shamanic Odyssey to him, resulting in the clearest eyewitness overview of this ceremony. It remained unmatched for almost sixty years. He complemented this description of old beliefs with one on the Shaker Church, which was founded shortly before he was born.

Waterman married twice. In 1910, to Grace Goodwin, and their children were Helen Maria in 1913 and TT, Jr in 1916. In 1927, he married Ruth Dulaney.

A "brilliant, incisive, colorful teacher, rarely systematic and sometimes erratic, but extraordinarily stimulating" (Kroeber 1937, 527), TTW held a long series of jobs. At the University of California, he was Museum Assistant (1907-09), Instructor and Assistant Curator (1910-14), Assistant Professor (1914-18), and Associate Professor (1920-21). He set up the foundation courses in anthropology, and, with co-author Alfred Louis Kroeber providing "framework and ballast," published the first general textbook, Source Book in Anthropology, in 1920, revised 1931.

The most famous event in his life was being sent in 1911 to the jail cell at Oroville, California, to read long lists of native words to a forlorn man who had just materialized outside of town. He was Ishi, the last Yahi, and Waterman narrowed his choices to local languages until eventually these men were able to achieve recognition of the Yana word *siwini* for "yellow pine" by tapping the pine frame of the cot they were sitting on in the local jail. Thus begin the long process of communicating with this thoroughly native man who took up residence in the museum at Berkeley until he died of TB in 1916 (T Kroeber 1961).

At the University of Washington, TTW was Associate Professor (1918-20) when he produced the draft study of the western Washington native place names that has never been equaled, and, now, never can be. His interest in ethno-geography resulted in the published Yurok study, along with unpublished, but equally detailed, studies of Puget Sound along with the Straits of Juan de Fuca, and of southeast Alaska Tlingit. Moreover, his study of Makah whaling equipment has suddenly become extremely relevant again.

In a manuscript he finished in 1921 about the artifacts he collected around the Sound, Waterman (1973, x) acknowledged the "reputable people" who had already collected in Puget Sound, such as "Lewis and Clark, Wilkes, Boas, Culin, [George] Dorsey, Tozier, and (more recently) Haeberlin." He noted that the Tozier materials had once been on display in Seattle but were now at the Heye in New York and the National Museum in DC.

Letters in the Bancroft Library of the University of California at Berkeley reveal his life-long, bemused outlook on life. Writing from Fresno, 30 Dec 1908, he noted minor health problems limiting his career choices. On 29 Sept 1909, he wrote during graduate studies at Columbia University in New York City. Back at Berkeley, 18 June 1915, he was aware of the small academic world of jobs, noting "One of Merriam's men was ready to bite, but now he is offered an instructorship at the U of Washington."

The arrival of Ishi was not reported, but the aftermath is. Because Edward Sapir had worked on Yana, he was anxious to work with Ishi and so came from Ottawa to spend the summer at Berkeley. On 2 July 1915, "Sapir landed here with ten dollars in Canadian money and needed $150 at once." Kroeber was gone, and both Waterman and Edward Gifford were poor, so it became a "real circus" to scrounge up the money. By 7 November 1915, he was reporting details of Ishi's declining health, and, by year's end, 23 December, "I am still anxious to fly away from Berkeley."

The new year began with a most improbable proposal from John Peabody Harrington, the brilliant but unsocialized linguist of the Bureau of American Ethnology. This life of single-minded (paranoid, compulsive) research has been traced by his ex-wife of 1916-22, Carobeth Laird (1975), who soon married George Laird, a Cherokee living among the Chemehuevi. Harrington wrote to Berkeley to claim the southern two-thirds of California for his own research. Letters of 13/21 January 1916 explain that Harrington was willing to exchange his notes on native Californian moieties (mutually sustaining halves of these societies, often named Buzzard/Coyote) in return for J Alden Mason leaving off fieldwork among Salinans. The consensus (23 January) was that Harrington, trained only as a linguist, knew nothing of moieties and so would not have useful materials. A telegram on the 24th ordered Kroeber to write Gifford to immediately compose a 16 page paper on the Tachi so that his work would not be scooped by Harrington.

All this tempestuous wrangling over fieldwork and data led Waterman to muse on 1 February 1916, "I consider myself a hell of a fine teacher if that counts for anything. I will shine

in the reflected light of the investigators I am training up, like [?] Outhwaite, [Thomas] McKern, and [Malcolm] Rogers."

Sadly, he reported the death and cremation of Ishi in a letter of 31 March 1916. Against the will of Kroeber and all other anthropologists involved with Ishi, an autopsy had been done, and his brain removed, only to be located and repatriated eighty years later.

On 26 June 1917, TTW wrote that he was in the army and sending his wife to drafting classes so she could support their family if he is killed or "dies of boredom."

In 1918, he wrote from Seattle he was teaching Evolution of Culture 70 and American Indians 18. More ominously, 23 September 1919, reporting that UW is "busted and insolvent," he added "I can get along here cordially with the business offices, but I have a bad time with the 'scholars'." Indeed, his critical comments, in his own native place names study, on Edmund Meany's work about Washington place names indicates the level of ignorance he was up against. Still his teaching carried him through, with 400 in his Introduction to Sociology class as of 11 October 1919. Still unsettled, 3 November, he pleaded "When you go east, look around for a job for me, will you. I can't go myself, they've withdrawn the allowance for research." Unable to go into the field, he turned his classes into research outlets, reporting 14 November, "I've got a group working on Indian Houses." Among these students was Geraldine Coffin Guie, who co-authored the study of canoes with Waterman. Near year end, 10 December, he sought another source of funds and outlet for research, "I'm writing Heye to see if he wants some Puget Sound Baskets, canoe-bailers, etc," setting the stage for his manuscript on local artifacts, published in 1973, and a later job at the Heye Foundation, Museum of the American Indian in New York.

Among the manuscripts he left behind at Berkeley are Puget Sound Marriages and Geneologies (20 pp, # 100), Puget Geography (260 pp, #106), Geographical Ideas (22pp, #108), Eskimo and Puget (#110), and the mythology he coauthored with Arthur C Ballard (72pp, #107). The Bancroft also holds the manuscript by Erna Gunther (311pp, #) on Culture Element Distribution: Puget Sound (Duwamish, Skokomish, Klallam, Makah). Not a typical distribution for the Sound, by any means, though the key Duwamish entries came from Julia Siddle.

After 1921, he became "restless," shifting to the Heye Museum of the American Indian, and then the Bureau of American Ethnology. In the same BAE volume publishing the posthumous work of Haeberlin and Teit on basketry, finished by Helen Roberts, the Administrative Report for 1922 (BAE AR 1928, 63, 73) lists Dr TT Waterman as temporary ethnologist from March 1 when he was sent to Alaska "to scrutinize certain native towns in southeastern Alaska. He collected data on totemic monuments and hundreds of place names until he returned on 15 June. On July 1, he was detached for six weeks to lecture in the Columbia University summer school.

Next he became technical director of the National Museum of Guatemala, and then, until 1927, taught at Fresno State College, where he offered geology, geography, and anthropology. He moved on to the University of Arizona for a year, then to Honolulu to teach at the Territorial Normal College and the University of Hawaii, shifted to newspaper and public relations work, and, months before he died, became Territorial Archivist.

Since his Tlingit place name study remained at the BAE in DC, and he began moving about, he sold his Puget Sound Place Names manuscript for $400 to the BAE, as mentioned in his letter of 21 March 1929.

In particular, driven by a "passion for flaming clarity … he loved concrete facts and sharply defined findings, both presented with the same clean-cut picturesqueness which characterized him on the lecture platform and in intimate conversation" (Kroeber 1937, 528).

Gerry Guie, the former Geraldine Coffin, graduated, married newspaperman Dean Guie, and lived her life in Yakima. There, in the 1930s, she was host to Christine Quintasket, a Colville woman who had written a novel and autobiography under the pen name of Mourning Dove (1990). Gerry recalled TTW very fondly, noting that the worst criticism he could give the work of another anthropologist was "His work reads like a hardware catalog".

Writing from State Teachers and Junior College in Fresno California on 18 January 1926, he loaned Gerry the pamphlet Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languges by Kroeber, Boas, Goddard, and Sapir.[90]

On 21 March 1929, he wrote her from Hawaii.

> I wish to God I could go out go out digging roots with you and the other Yakimas. A fellow wrote me a letter from Denver about basket designs. Such things make me positively hurt. Why the devil didn't I do some of this work when there was a change. There were four hundred million place names around Puget Sound, also, that you and I and Ruth Greiner should have gotten. The Government paid me four hundred dollars for the manuscript, but it wasn't {wanst} complete.
>
> I had some fun in the Southwest. A paper by your little friend will be in an early issue of the Anthropologist, on the sequence of cultures here. Clever, if I do say it. Your dear friend Leslie Spier (may the devil fly off with him) is full professor at the University of Oklahoma.
>
> A former student of mine is Chief of the Bureau of Ethnology, Matt Sterling. I was in northern California last summer, and got some more material on Yurok, to complete some notes I got in 1909. I am writing the paper up now, except that I am writing to you instead. …
>
> I'll have to send you some snaps of myself and this house. It's a Japanese house on the hill side. Gosh, what a view. This [page 2] island is all the books say it is, and then some. Honest, it's the cat's. …
>
> Also I wrote up a good little collection of Puget Sound tales (a la Dean's [Guie and Mourning Dove's] labors), with a map, lost the map, found the map, and lost the text. It's still lost. Damn. God bless you and regards TTW

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[90] Franz Boas, Pliny Earle Goddard, Edward Sapir, and Alfred L Kroeber, Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages: Report of Committee of the American Anthropological Association.; Washington, DC: Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections 66 (5), 1916. It was later replaced by the more authoritative George Herzog, Stanley S Newman, Edward Sapir, Mary Haas Swadesh, Morris Swadesh, and Charles F Voegelin, Some Orthographic Recommendations; Arising Out of Discussions by a Group of Six Americanist Linguists; American Anthropologist 36 (4), 629-631, 1934.

Appendix K: Dorr Francis Tozier (1843-1926)

Captain Tozier was in command of the US Revenue Service cutter *Grant*, based at Port Townsend. Collecting all along the coast of the Pacific and Puget Sound for 14 years, he amassed about 10,000 Indien and Eskimo artifacts, of which 3,000 were baskets. He insisted that each one have been in actual use by native peoples when he bought it.[91]

He was born in Georgia, and attended West Point. In 1900, the collection was moved from Pt Townsend to Tacoma (WSHS) on loan. He began to look for a buyer when he retired and moved to LA in 1907. Most of it eventually went to Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation) and US National Museum, after bitter struggles. Many professionals were reluctant to get involved with the Tozier collection because of persistent rumors that he used his gunboat to force the sale or theft of artifacts from reluctant native owners.[92]

Another aspect of the long-term Tacoma/Seattle rivalry has been called "The Great Tozier Heist".[93] The Art Association of Seattle bought the collection and chartered the steamer *TW Lake* to bring it north from Tacoma. GL Berg led the assault, as it was perceived. They arrived at the Ferry Museum early on Sunday 9 Oct 1909, sidestepping the threat of an weekday injunction.

Curator William Gilstrap was locked in his own office with baskets worth $300 to compensate for remaining storage fees. The rest of the collection was boxed and placed in eleven horse-drawn vans. During the afternoon, workman began packing up the baskets set aside in lieu of storage fees. When Gilstrap protested, he was locked away until the entire shipment left town. The next day, he provided the headline for the *Daily Ledger*.

Tozier visited the collection in 1912, but the Art Association held a dubious status by 1913 and had yet to pay for the collection. By 1916, Fred E Sander was trustee of their holdings. In 1917, lead by Edmond Meany and others, an attempt was made to secure it for the state museum. Instead, George Heye purchased most of the basket collection. In 1952-53, the Burke Museum at UW purchased 227 of these Tozier baskets as part of 415 artifacts from the Alaska Fur Company.

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91 Nancy Jackson, Northwest Coast Basketry Collections and Collectors: Collections in the Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum, University of Washington, Anthropology MA Thesis, 1984.

92 Douglas Cole, Captured Heritage: The Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts, 1985, 219.

93 John McClelland, Window to the Past, The Washington State Historical Society's First Century, 1992, 57.

Appendix L: James Wickersham (1857 - 1939)[94]

Born in Illinois, raised on a farm, and schooled to the eighth grade, Wickersham taught in rural Illinois schools (1874-77) before he moved to Springfield and studied law in the offices of John Palmer, governor and senator. He entered the bar 14 Jan 1880, and married Deborah Susan Bell in October. Of their three sons, only the oldest son Darrel lived to marry but had no children. Suffering from TB, his wife died in Seattle in 1926. He married Grace Vrooman Bishop (1872 - 1963) in 1928. She was a teacher who graduated from the University of Washington in 1902, was a vital member of Juneau society, and left their Juneau hilltop home and family records to a niece, who runs it as a historical attraction.

After James and family moved to Tacoma in 1883, he supported them as a carpenter shingling roofs and building fences before he briefly formed a law partnership with Ezra Meeker. Then he set up on his own, sharing it for a time with John Palmer, Jr, son of his mentor in Illinois. His house was built at 230 South C St in Tacoma. The rest of his family moved west in 1884, then founded the town of Buckley in 1888 on the upper White River. When it was incorporated in 1890, James became town council.

A few years before, his lived much out of character. He helped organize the Union Labor Party and began an ill-judged affair with Sadie Brantner, leading into a notorious court case on a charge of seduction that was eventually dismissed. During this same two years, his second son was born and died, suggesting his uncharacteristic behavior was motivated by some sense of paternal anguish. He was a ring leader of the mob that drove the Chinese out of Tacoma in 1885 and burned all their property. He was indicted twice, but the charges never came to court. He never apologized for his actions but instead always insisted that he had helped to counter the superior threat of the Chinese, who worked so efficiently and cheaply that they would have soon taken over the West. He was afraid of their superior abilities, not any inferiority.

During the first term of Mayor Edward S Orr, Wickersham was city attorney. For his second term, however, Orr selected John A "Jack" Shackleford, whose brother Lewis was later Alaska Republican committeeman and a bitter Wickersham foe. Three Shackleford daughters had long careers in law and medicine.

Wickersham constantly engaged in land speculation for the Palmers, other Easterners, and himself, using several corporations such as the Allyn Land Company.[95] He moved to a farm near Gig Harbor in 1889, took 85½ acres on Henderson Bay to found Springfield as a summer resort, though its name soon changed to Wauna. His family avidly hiked outdoors, once walking the coast of Washington and visiting native villages along the way.

His clients included squatters on reservations at Muckleshoot and Puyallup. During a court case when he argued that Indien landowners must be regarded as citizens, and Judge Hanford agreed, some local Shakers approached him about legal protection for their church, which he provided by legally incorporating this native religion. It was founded in 1882 by the death and return of John Slocum, along with the healing power of the shake given to his grieving wife Mary Thompson Slocum. After 1890 he developed antiquarian collections of folklore and artifacts, using Mud Bay Louis Yowaluch, the head of the Shaker church, as a broker. Jack

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94 Evangeline Atwood, Frontier Politics: Alaska's James Wickersham, 1979.

95 George Pierre Castille, The Indian Connection: Judge James Wickersham and the Indian Shakers, Pacific Northwest Quarterly 81 (Oct), 122-129, 1990.

Simmons, a Shaker leader at Puyallup was a close ally; "working through Simmons, Wickersham persuaded Steilacoom John to abandon a piece of land in which [Fred G] Plummer had an interest".[96]

When the Senator Henry Dawes version of the Puyallup Bill was passed, protecting existing allotments while selling off "surplus" lands, a commission was set up. Its was ultimately composed only of Clinton Snowden, who was, at the same time, secretary of the Tacoma Chamber of Commerce.

In his famous diatribe that was anonymously signed A Boston Tillicum, Wickersham continued his bitter opposition to the efforts of Myron Eells, son the famous missionary Cushing Eells and brother of Myron, to save as much land for Puyallups as possible. Eells avidly enrolled for an allotment any potential native who might be expected to be sympathetic to native rights. Wickersham charged in return that only a small number of the natives on these rolls were actually "real" Puyallups, as though this was some kind of indelible branding.

In 1900 he was appointed Alaska third district judge, based in Eagle City, then Fairbanks after 1904, and began his fifty years in Alaska as politician, bibliophile, and critic. As he left Tacoma and had put his artifacts in the care of the Ferry County (later Washington State Historical Society) Museum, two famous anthropologists came through on a collection trip funded by the Wanamakers of Philadelphia. Stewart Culin of the Brooklyn Museum and George Dorsey of the Field Museum in Chicago divided their efforts. While Dorsey was at Lake Sammamish purchasing the set of shamanic odyssey equipment now at the University Museum in Philadelphia, Culin spent the evening with Wickersham, "on the eve of starting his new post at Eagle City, Alaska".[97] The next day both collectors went to the museum on Sunday, where they met the unpaid curator and Wickersham. Noting that the museum was a hopeless jumble, Culin wrote that the Wickersham loan was "the only thing of real interest in all this curious medley."

Since Tacoma acquired in 1901 the only set of odyssey boards to remain in the Northwest, it seems likely that Wickersham learned from the encounter and undertook to collect the very last outfit to be used in this ceremony, knowing these artifacts were prized in the East. By contributing articles about local mythology and other native subjects, his reputation as an authority increased. When James Mooney wanted an account of the Shaker Church for his Smithsonian study of prophetic movements, Wickersham complied with first hand reports as both church lawyer and supporter. He also used the occasion to again lambaste the efforts, as unnamed Indian agent, of Edwin Eells on behalf of saving some bit of the Puyallup land base.

In 1901, Wickersham was sent to Nome to clean up the corruption of the local federal bench. In 1903, he attempted a climb of Denali (Mt McKinley). He served as federal judge until 1907, then was elected territorial delegate six times from 1908 to 1920, then for a last term in 1930-32. He amassed a huge library, published a consolidation of Alaska law, and an Alaska bibliography. He always intended to write a history in retirement. Instead, failing health and eyesight, lack of funds, and lack of support frustrated his efforts. The University of Alaska received a grant for such a history, then arrogantly assumed it could station an academic in Wickersham's home library to write it. Of course he balked and the academic had to relocate to

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[96] George Pierre Castille, The Indian Connection: Judge James Wickersham and the Indian Shakers, Pacific Northwest Quarterly 81 (Oct), 122-129, 1990, 128, Simmons photo 129.

[97] Stewart Culin, A Summer Trip among the Western Indians (The Wanamaker Expedition). Chapter IV. Bulletin of the Free Museum of Science and Art of the University of Pennsylvania. III (1), 143-164, 1901.

the Library of Congress in DC, where the archives of Russian America went after the sale of Alaska.

At considerable expense, he organized his library in locked cases in his Tacoma study, shipped them to DC in 1912, and then sent them to the Tacoma historical society in 1918. A decade later, they were installed in his Juneau home.

Though often characterized as a hypocrite for his duplicity in defending the rights of natives as citizens, only to use that right to buy and take their land away, Wickersham was much more complex. Full of curiosity and energy, he engaged in passions -- variously family, an affair, artifacts, or Indiens. As a Quaker, he seems to have been motivated by his "own light" to do as much as possible. After days in the office, he often spent evenings as a member of various clubs and societies. He must have been a Mason. Every night, he added to his diary, in the Quaker tradition. Much of his life was motivated by a desire for fortune, earned by billing all comers, but knowing that large funds would provide him with the leisure to undertake his research and writing projects. But he was never that successful, and old age took its toll before anything could be completed. Still, his legal incorporation of the Indian Shaker Church in 1910 has provided it with needed protection for a century. In Alaska, his ups and down with the famous Paul family of Tlingits provide a similar story of good intentions but fierce emotional conflicts. Mending fences became one of the primary duties undertaken by his wives.

Today, the large Wickersham family shares a crowded plot in the Old Tacoma Cemetery, along with the cremated remains of the judge, brought south "in state" from Alaska to Seattle and then Tacoma.

Appendix L: George Gibbs (1815 - 1873) [98]

George Gibbs (1815 - 1873) was from a prominent Northeast family and spent eleven years in the Northwest (1849-61). With a law degree from Harvard, he worked in the customs office at Astoria, Oregon, then joined the California Gold Rush. He served on treaty commissions in Oregon, California, and Washington, as well as the Canadian boundary survey. After he returned East, he oversaw the indemnity payment for Fort Nisqually. He lived in DC, NY City, and New Haven, intending to write up the extensive materials on native languages and ethnography he had assembled during fieldwork in the West and study in the Smithsonian archives.

The eldest child of a distinguished Northeast family, Gibbs spent an adventurous decade in the Northwest. He abundantly chronicled ii in diaries, letters, manuscripts, and massive publications. But his efforts took a toll. Short and burley, he suffered severely from gout as he got older. Yet even when told to keep his feet elevated, he disobeyed doctor's orders to continue writing and editing.

George was born 17 July 1815 after his parents had been married for five years. His father, Colonel George (1776-1833), was 39, and his mother Laura (nee Wolcott) was 19. The Gibbs family traced its American origins to James who left Bristol, England, in 1670, and his son George who put down roots. The grandson George (1735-1803) founded the family fortune by running 70 trading ships of the firm of Gibbs and Channing out of Newport, Rhode Island. After he died, the widow Mary (nee Channing) established the family in Boston. Half of her eight children died young. Living with her were two daughters, Sarah, unwed, and Ruth, married to her cousin Rev. William Ellery Channing. Sarah, in particular, was a staunch Episcopalian, and maintained the family chapel and cemetery at "Oakland" in Rhode Island.

As a young man, the colonel visited China and Russia, with the family hope that he would learn the trade. Instead, he turned to scholarly interests in geology and mineralogy. Family funds bought him the finest mineral collection in the US, which eventually went to Yale University. Upon marriage, he became a gentleman farmer at Sunswick Manor, on Long Island, where his children were born. He easily sailed his sloop across into downtown New York City. The family had wealth, power, and connections throughout the Northeast. His brother became governor of Rhode Island.

Laura, the mother, was daughter of Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury and strong Whig, allied with George Washington, John Adams, and Alexander Hamilton. Whigs lost favor with the election of Thomas Jefferson and appointment to the Treasury of Albert Gallatin, who became famous for his study of North American native languages late in his life. Gibbs, Channing, and Wolcott family fortunes were even more compromised by the election of populist, Indian-hating Andrew Jackson in the 1830s and 1840s.

Laura had seven children. George was eldest, followed by Mary (1917, died 1820), Elizabeth (1819), Wolcott (1822), Alfred (1823), Laura (), and Francis (). Elizabeth married a city businessman, Laura married a professor at West Point Military Academy, Wolcott became an MD and professor, Alfred graduated West Point for an Army career, and Frank speculated in Chicago.

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[98] Stephen Dow Beckham, George Gibbs, 1815-1873: Historian and Anthropologist, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1969.

After some schooling by his family and occasional tutors, George was sent to newly-founded Round Hill School at Northampton, Massachusetts. Its curriculum was based on languages, mostly taught by European native speakers. The boys were also allowed to set up "Crony Village" where they lived outdoors and hunted with bows and arrows. This training with its freedoms had a long lasting impact on George's scholarship. He graduated at age sixteen.

From this prep school, George went on to enroll at Harvard Law School, delaying his degree until 1838 by taking a grand tour of Europe with his Aunt Sarah in 1834. He served as law librarian, completing an inventory and catalogue that also set a standard for the rest of his life. He joined a law practice in New York City, but soon turned most of his attention to the New York Historical Society, where he mixed with the great Americanists of the day. They included Albert Gallatin, Henry Schoolcraft, and John L Stevens, who traveled through Middle America with the artist Frederick Catherwood recording Maya sites. In 1843, George became librarian of the society, completing an inventory of manuscripts and maps. He also urged that they concentrate on American materials, doing them well instead of scattering their energies. As a result, the fame of this organization has been assured for over a century.

With news of gold in California, the withering of his law office, and a sense that life was passing him by, George and John Ruggles left on 20 March 1849 for Fort Leavenworth, where his brother Alfred and the Mounded Rifle Regiment, marching west, provided safe escort. George carried the map drawn by John Fremont in 1845, amending it as he saw the need. Later, he also added details from an 1828 map by Jedediah Smith he inspected at Fort Vancouver. When his invaluable document was discovered in the American Geographical Society in 1953, it received great cartographic fanfare.

The overland journey ended at Oregon City, and George looked around for a local base. He chose Astoria, made famous in the history of the fur trade by Washington Irving, to set up a law office. He soon became assistant collector of customs, earning $2000 a year, and invested in lots, expecting the tiny port to soon grow, but that did not happen.

Ever the lawyer, he damaged his career in 1850 by insisting that the Hudson Bay Company pay duties on shipments from Victoria to Fort Nisqually, though customs at Astoria was far away at the mouth of the Columbia. He insisted the new Oregon governor and judge take passage on an American vessel instead of the free passage offered by HBC. During resulting bitterness, he wisely resigned his lucrative job, which later allowed him to return to it.

He next joined the treaty commissions set up for the Willamette Valley tribes of Oregon. George used his fluency in Chinook Wawa (pidgin, jargon) to collect vocabularies of many of these badly decimated communities. He prepared a useful map of the Willamette with Edward A Starling, soon to be BIA agent on Puget Sound.

Many of his relations had settled in San Francisco, providing him with a base there. In 1851, George finally went to California, intent on finding gold. Instead, he was repeatedly diverted by his academic talents. He was hired by the California treaty commission, serving with Redick McKee's delegation assigned to the territory between Golden Gate and Oregon west of the Sacramento Valley. Local conditions were harsh. Clear Lake Pomos were living in naked squalor. After his initial shock, he recovered enough to take down word lists and ethnography. Local ranchers were no better. Vaqueros entertained the commission's detachment of dragoons by tying grizzlies to bulls to force a fight to the death. Yet his research interests remained foremost. His diary was filled careful notes on local geology, flora, fauna, and habitats. Along the Klamath River, he could finally use his wawa to good purpose.

Only once did Gibbs try to turn his research interests into business ones. The ancient Pacific trade valued dentalia (tusk) shells, dredged from deep water off the west coast of Vancouver Island. Fully aware of the high regard natives along the Klamath had for these tapered, tube-like shells, George sent samples to his brother, who was in business in Shanghai. He asked Frank to find Chinese to make enough porcelain copies to string 5000 fathoms but nothing ever happened.

In 1852, the departing Whig President Millard Fillmore (VP before the death of Zachary Taylor) appointed George to be customs collector at Astoria. Though he knew he would soon be replaced, Gibbs used this salary to pay off debts. His luck held.

In 1853, he was hired by Captain George McClellan for the survey for the northern route for a national railroad. McClellan was a classmate of George's brother Alfred. The large survey staff included Gibbs as geologist and ethnologist, Lt Johnson K Duncan as draughtsman and assistant astronomer, Joseph Minter as personal aide and engineer; Lt Henry C Hodges as quartermaster; Lt Sylvester Mowry as meteorologist, Dr James G Cooper as surgeon and naturalist; and AL Lewis as guide. Remarkably well equipped but over cautious, this survey accomplished little.

Yet George was tireless at collecting word lists wherever he went, carefully interviewing long residents like Fr Pandosy at the Yakama mission and Fr Joset at Fort Colville near Kettle Falls. He fully inspected any documents, books, and personal archives he encountered.

In January 1854, Governor Isaac Stevens hired George to prepare a topographical report on Puget Sound. Alexander Anderson, an aged HBC employee then in Seattle, provided background information for the larger region.

George took a donation homestead (T 19 R 2E S 11-14) on 17 May 1854 near Fort Steilacoom, close to friends in the Army and the Masonic lodge. He named it Chetlah. Like his father, he was a gentleman farmer, hiring the family of William Lane to do the actual labor. This land was still claimed by HBC as part of Fort Nisqually, and Gibbs would end his public career under attack by the HBC seeking reparations.

To fill in language gaps, he kept up a barrage of letters requesting information from informed locals such as missionaries, traders, and military. He relied on William Tolmie at Fort Nisqually, William McNeil at Fort Simpson, Dr George Suckely at Fort Dalles, Seth Lount at Fort Orford, and James Swan at Shoalwater Bay.

By the end of the year of 1854, Gibbs was serving on his third treaty commission, having drafted the form used by Gov Stevens throughout Washington Territory in 1855. Based on treaties with the Omaha and Missouria, George is credited with adding the clauses about native rights to salmon and shellfish as a way of allowing Indians to feed themselves and hold off destitution and damage on the expanding frontier. In the immediate aftermath of these hasty treaties, the Treaty War flared up. Concerned Army friends removed George's writings from Chetlah to the fort for safekeeping.

Gibbs held ironic public offices in Olympia. He briefly was acting governor between the time Stevens left for Montana and Charles Mason took over. The legislature elected him brigadier general of the Washington militia, but, at the outset of the Treaty War, Mason put a career army officer in charge. Gibb's seeming inactivity was later used against him.

In 1855, as though for relief, Gibbs helped concoct a naturalist hoax that amused readers of several newspapers. The prock (Perockius Oregoniensis) was a newly discovered mammal that had adapted to steep mountainous living by having shorter legs on one side.

When visiting his homestead, his worker reported criticism of the war by local Métis men, HBC employees married to native women. Ever the lawyer, Gibbs had Lane swear out an affidavit on 9 March 1856. Stevens later misused it in accusing the Métis of disloyalty. This malicious campaign helped to drive Steven's aide Doty, son of a Wisconsin governor, to suicide. George felt even more compelled to uphold the letter of the law when Gov Stevens had the chief justice arrested in his own courtroom and declared martial law in two counties.

Thereafter, these men became embittered and Gibbs lost his official support. He retired to Chetlah, intending to farm and write. The Lanes tended his fields, and a Nisqually named Jack cooked. It is also likely that Jack was the source for the words that later became Gibb's Nisqually Dictionary.

For a fourth time, Gibbs joined a survey, this time a joint US-British venture along the border with Canada, under Archibald Campbell. Staff included G Clinton Gardiner, John Grubb Parke, and Caleb Kennerly. Many staffers had been "snakers", naturalist students of Spencer Baird before he moved to the Smithsonian. The military escort included Lt August V Kautz, a German-born army officer with descendants enrolled among the Nisquallys; and Lts George Pickett and Philip Sheridan, of later Civil War fame. Indeed, several of these men left children among local tribes, particularly while camped at Chilliwack (Chiloweyuck). In 1858, Gibbs finally went up the Skagit River, having previously relied on interviews with locals to learn about upriver conditions before the treaties.

The boundary survey shipped specimens of all kinds to the Smithsonian in bulk. Among them, unknown until a few years ago, was Mutton, the 18-month old wooly dog pup that had been Gibb's pet until it chewed up one too many mountain goat pelts and was itself collected, prepared, and send by Kennerly.

When the field survey disbanded and moved to DC for the write up phase, George went along, returning to the Northeast after eleven years. He arrived at his mother's home in New York City on 10 January 1861. He wrote up his portion in DC until 30 May 1862, and was released after five years devoted to this federal effort.

He turned next to working on language materials at the Smithsonian, while offering advice and publishing a pamphlet to guide philological [ethnographic] research. He also edited and published his own materials on Lummi and Klallam, Straits Salish languages, as well as a Yakama grammar by Fr Pandosy. He assembled dictionaries of Chinook wawa and of Nisqually (southern Lushootseed).

An 1864 treaty between the US and Britain allowed for payment of indemnities for the loss of Ft Nisqually and surrounding lands to Americans who crowded in, Gibbs among them. These funds were to be paid to the Hudson Bay Company (HBC) and its subsidiary Puget Sound Agricultural Company. The British claimed $4,281,936 but the 1869 final settlement was for $650,000. By the end, Gibbs produced fourteen volumes of testimony and accounts. He had to defend his role as a homesteader at Chetlah after an attack by the HBC late in the proceedings.

Two years before he died, following family tradition, he married his first cousin, Mary Kane Gibbs, on 11 April 1871. They moved to New Haven, in the Yale neighborhood, where he intended to finish many projects. Instead, his wife became his nurse until he died 9 April 1873 and was buried in the Rhode Island family cemetery beside the chapel of his Aunt Sarah.

Over 58 years, Gibbs was predominately a scholar who supported himself in governmental employments which drew somewhat on his legal training. He was gifted with the ability to organize the diverse materials of himself and others, though he failed to publish all of it.

Yet strangely for a life-long organizer, the Gibbs family materials are today scattered from The Wisconsin Historical Society in Madison, to archives at Harvard, New York Historical Society, and DC (several locations). Coming from the East and returning there after his decade in the Northwest, he was driven by great insight and scholarly motivation. His friends shared his concerns and protected his papers during the Treaty War. Later they became gems in major archives of the East.

Gibbs was a more-than-adequate artist, surveyor, map maker, and tracker. He left an extensive collection of artifacts, augmented by family travel in Mexico and elsewhere. Native languages were ever his keen interest, supporting related work on place names, literature, and cultural traditions.

Major Works:

1834 The Judicial Chronicle. Cambridge, Ma: J Monroe & Co.
1846 Memoir of the Administrations of Washington and John Adams, edited from the papers of Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury. NY: W Van Norden.
1853 California languages, Volume III, Henry Schoolcraft compendium, five volumes
1855 Pacific Railroad Reports.
1862 Grammar and Dictionary of the Yakima Language. NY: Cramoisy Press.
1863 Instruction for Research Relative to the Ethnology and Philology of America. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections VII, 1-51.
1863 A Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon, or Trade Language of Oregon. NY: Cramoisy Press.
1863 Alphabetical Vocabularies of the Clallam and Lummi. NY: Cramoisy Press.
1863 Alphabetical Vocabulary of the Chinook Language. NY: Cramoisy Press.
1877 Dictionary of the Niskwally. Contributions to North American Ethnology 1, 285-361.
Smithsonian Annual Reports 1866, 1870

Puget Sound Lushootseed
dxʷləšutsid / xʷəlšutsid Researchers
Alphabetical, with hints to affiliations and archives

1 Thelma Adamson (1901 - 1983) - Melville Jacobs Collection, UW

2 Pamela Amoss – UW

3 Clarence Bagley – UW Archives

4 Arthur Ballard (1876 - 1962) – Auburn

5 Ann Bates – Seattle

6 Dawn Bates - Arizona State University

7 Dave Beck - Toronto, U of Alberta

8 Astrida Blukis Onat – Seattle

9 Franz Boas - American Philosophical Society (APS), Philadelphia

10 Nels Bruseth - UW Archives, Darrington

11 Charles Buchanan, MD – UW

12 Francy Calhoun – UW

13 June Collins - Buffalo, NY

14 Myron Eells - Whitman College, WA

15 Roger Ernesti – UW

16 Paul Fetzer – UW

17 Brent Galloway – Berkeley, Saskatchewan

18 George Gibbs () – DC, National Anthropological Archives

19 Erna Gunther (1896 - 1982) – UW MSCUA, Burke Archives

20 Herman Haeberlin (1890 - 1919) – National Anthropological Archives, DC; APS Philadelphia; American Museum of Natural History, NYC

21 John P Harrington - National Anthropological Archives, DC

22 Thom Hess – UW, Victoria, BC

23 Vi Hilbert - Lushootseed Research

24 Frederick Hulse – UW, U Arizona, Ca

25 Hyong Joong Kim -

26 Sandra Patricia Kirkham -

27 Toby Langen – Tulalip

28 Ezra Meeker – UW, Puyallup

29 Leon Metcalf - Burke Museum, UW

30 Bruce Miller - Vancouver, UBC

31 Jay Miller – NWC

32 Jay Ellis Ransom – UW

33 Marilyn Richen – Portland, Shakers

34 Natalie Roberts – DC

35 Martin Sampson - Tacoma, WA

36 Aileen Satushek - UC-Davis

37 Claude Schaeffer – Glenbow Museum, Calgary, Portland, Or

38 Seaburg, William (1947 -) – UW Bothell

39 Sercombe, Laurel – UW

40 Roderick Sprague - Northwest Archives, U Idaho

41 Marian Smith (1907 - 1961) - Royal Anthropological Archives, London

42 Harry Smith – NYC

43 Sally Snyder (1930 - 1986) - Melville Jacobs Collection, UW

44 Warren Snyder – CA

45 Wayne Suttles - Friday Harbor, Reno, Portland

46 Robert Theodoratus - Ft Collins, CO

47 Kenneth Tollefson – Seattle

48 Harriet Turner – UW

49 Colin Tweddell - Bellingham

50 Thomas Talbot Waterman (1885 - 1936) - Hawaii, Berkeley, DC

51 James Wickersham - Juneau, AK; Tacoma

52 Joyce Wike – Cusik, Nebraska

53 Johnson Williams – Klallam

54 Zalmai Zeke Zahir – UW,

US Archives with Lushootseed Materials

The Seattle Public Library
- Pioneers File
- Seattle Room
- Northwest Regional Shelves

Museum of History and Industry MOHAI, Seattle
- Photo Archives
- Denny Family Papers (Seattle founders), particularly David (1832-1903)
- Newspaper Files
- Lucile Saunders McDonald (1898-1992) features and articles

Special Collections, University of Washington (until 2004 MSCUA = Manuscripts, Special Collections, and University Archives, Seattle
- Biography Files
- Edmond Meany Papers (1862-1935, early Historian)
- Jerry Meeker Notebooks (Puyallup Elder, Land Developer)
- Erna Gunther Papers (1896–1982, early anthropologist, museum director)
- Seattle Directories
- Melville Jacobs Papers (1902-1972, early linguist, anthropologist)
- Anthropology Department Records
- Local Histories
- Microfilms
  - John Peabody Harrington Files (early anthropologist)
  - Newspapers

Burke Museum, Seattle
- Erna Gunther Papers (see above)
- Leon Metcalf (first tape recordings in early 1950s of native languages)

Lushootseed Research Archives (now Special Collections @ UW)
- Native Language texts
- Elder biographies
  - Vi Hilbert Biography
- Fieldnotes

Harriet Turner Archives
- Fieldnotes
- Photos

Suquamish Archives
- Court Records
- Interview Tapes & Files

Duwamish Archives
- Recognition Petition

Filipino American National Historical Society, Seattle
- Biography Files
- Indapino [Indian – Filipino Offspring] Records

National Archives and Records Administration, NARA, Seattle
- Homestead Records
- Homestead Plats
- Homestead Tract Books
- Reservation Agency Records
  - Tulalip
  - Suquamish
  - Swinomish
  - Puyallup
- Census Records
- Microfilms

Tacoma Public Library
- Pioneer Files
- Open Shelves by Locale
- Local Histories

Washington State Historical Society in Tacoma
- Edwin Eells Papers (Pioneer, Indian Agent)
- Photo Archives
- Ezra Meeker Papers (1830-1928, Pioneer, Hops King)

State Library in Olympia
- Pioneer Files
- Newspaper Clipping Files
- Isaac Stevens Library (First Governor, Senator, Bureau of Indian Affairs Official)

Washington State Regional Archives in Bellevue
- King County Tax records

White River Valley Museum
- Arthur Ballard (1876-1962) biography
- Photo Archives
- Muckleshoot Records
- Hops Farming Records

American Philosophical Society
- Franz Boas (1858 - 1942)
- Edward Sapir
- Herman Haeberlin
- Ethel Aginsky ()

National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian, DC
- George Gibbs (1815 - 1873), in NW 1849-61
- Herman Karl Haeberlin (1891-1918), in NW 1916-17
- Thomas Talbot Waterman (1885–1936), in Seattle 1918-1920
- John Peabody Harrington (1884-1961), at UW in 1910, in NW in 1942.

American Museum of Natural History, New York
- Franz Boas (1858-1942), in Washington State many times, especially in 1927
- Herman Haeberlin, artifacts & accession records

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